



INSIDE: 10 Ways to Stop Mumia's Execution

Also: Israel at 50; Murder in the Redwoods; Anarchy in Toronto; the Battle for Haymarket

Fifth estate

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Illustration/Eric Drooker from Street Posters & Ballads; see Page 22



STOP THE EXECUTION OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL!

Pennsylvania Governor
expected to set May death date



If a death warrant for Mumia is signed, demonstrate the next day, 6 p.m. at local federal buildings & city halls

Death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial was denied by the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court October 30 in an order upholding every detail of his racist and unfair frame-up. He is now under immediate threat of being executed.

Typical of the rigged justice Mumia has received since his 1982 murder conviction of a Philadelphia police officer, the ruling was signed by Justice Ronald Castillo who, as a city district attorney, played a key role ten years ago in denying Mumia a new trial at that time. As DA, Castillo signed all the prosecution's briefs filed against Mumia's appeal to the State Supreme Court.

Pennsylvania's right-wing Governor Thomas Ridge, a compliant tool of the

Philadelphia Fraternal Order of Police (FOP), has pledged to sign a new death warrant as soon as the appeal was denied. So, as you read this, Mumia may already be facing an execution date which supporters think could be set as early as May.

Demonstrations erupted internationally upon word of the denial of a new trial, and Mumia's lawyers are preparing to take his case into federal court. Also, contingency plans are in place for actions if a death date is announced.

According to the New York City Mumia Coalition organizer, Safia Bukhari, "This decision is an outrage. We plan to fight the racist so-called justice system all the way. Justice Castillo, who signed the order, has a major conflict of interest. Not only was he instrumental in the denial of Mumia's

original appeal, he was responsible for making an instructional video tape that kept African-Americans off juries in Philadelphia for years."

Mumia Abu-Jamal is an innocent man, an eloquent and outspoken opponent of racism and injustice who was hounded by the Philadelphia police and FBI since the time he was a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s. Jamal remained in the cross hairs of the cops as he went on to become a renowned journalist and supporter of the MOVE organization in the late 1970s.

This judicial ruling has been prepared by a sinister campaign by the Philadelphia FOP and its supporters. In 1995, it took a massive campaign of international protest, including by trade unions representing millions of workers from Italy to South Africa, to stay the hands of the executioners when Ridge had signed an earlier warrant for Jamal's death. While Jamal's attorneys fight to wield every legal weapon they can in his defense, what is urgently needed are mass mobilizations.

It is no accident that the Pennsylvania

In Detroit, contact the Mumia Coalition at BX 09173 Detroit MI 48209; 313/869-8383 or 628-4932

Supreme Court ruling was released only days before the November elections. The Pennsylvania high court is elected by party designation, and several of the justices received the FOP endorsement. It was pay-off time.

In a demonstration of flagrant bias, the court ruling dismisses as "incredible" every piece of testimony by witnesses testifying on Jamal's behalf and every piece of evidence submitted by his defense team. At the same time, they find totally "credible" every action and piece of testimony by the Philadelphia cops which is so notorious for its racist frame-up system that the U.S. Attorney General filed a civil rights lawsuit charging "widespread, arbitrary, and unreasonable physical abuse" of witnesses and suspects. In the last three years alone, hundreds of convictions in Philadelphia have been thrown out on such grounds.

The Court ruling also upheld every ac-

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10 Things You can Do To Help Free Mumia

1. BE READY FOR ACTION WHEN AN EXECUTION DATE IS SET. Make sure your community is ready to respond in the streets.

2. CONTRIBUTE TO MUMIA ABU-JAMAL'S LEGAL DEFENSE FUND. Send check payable to Black United Fund/Mumia Abu Jamal/LDF; mail to BUF, 2227 N. Broad St., Philadelphia PA 19132

3. CALL, WRITE, FAX, OR EMAIL THE PENNSYLVANIA GOVERNOR to demand a new and fair trial for Mumia and no death warrant. Gov. Tom Ridge, Main Capitol Building, Rm 225, Harrisburg, PA 17120. governor@state.PA.US; Tel 717-787-2500.

4. CALL OR WRITE PENN. CHIEF JUSTICE P. FLAHERTY TO DEMAND A NEW AND FAIR TRIAL FOR MUMIA! Penn. Supreme Court, Six Gateway Center, Suite 6161, 11 Stanwix St., Pittsburgh PA 15222; Tel 412-565-5525.

5. CALL OR FAX NATIONAL PUBLIC RADIO (NPR) AFFILIATES AND ALL RADIO STATIONS AND TELL THEM THAT YOU WANT TO HEAR MUMIA'S COMMENTARIES. NPR, 1-800-235-1212; Fax: 202-414-3025; x3329; Presiden/CEO PeterJablow.

6. CONTACT PRISON WARDEN PHILIP L. JOHNSON and let him know you are aware of Mumia's case and the horrific human rights violations at SCI Greene Prison, 1030 East Roy Furman Highway, Waynesburg, PA 15370; phone 412-852-2902.

7. WRITE MUMIA and let him know that you care and you will struggle with him for justice. Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM 8335, 1040 East Roy Furman Hwy., Waynesburg PA 15370.

8. BOYCOTT THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA. Call 1-800-VISIT-PA to say you won't visit Pennsylvania or support Pennsylvania corporations until Mumia has received a new trial and all executions are halted. Major companies to boycott: Hershey's, Quaker State Oil, Cannondale Bikes, Dial soap, Heinz Pet Products, Harley Davidson, Rolling Rock, Pepperidge Farms, Procter & Gamble. All major state companies are listed at: www.madeinpa.com.

9. COUNTER MEDIA DISINFORMATION by confronting the networks, writers, and broadcasters who publish lies and police propaganda. Read and listen to Mumia's books and radio essays: *Live From Death Row*; *From Death Row, This is Mumia Abu-Jamal* (CD's & Tapes); *Death Blossoms*, and *Race for Justice*. See the brilliant fast paced film *"Mumia Abu-Jamal: A Case for Reasonable Doubt?"* available at your local video store distributed by Fox Lorber. Also available from Prison Radio/Quixote radioqc@sirius.com; 415-648-4505.

10. CONTACT INTERNATIONAL CONCERNED FRIENDS AND FAMILY OF MUMIA ABU-JAMAL. P.O. Box 19709, Philadelphia PA 19143; Tel (215) 476-8812; Fax (215) 476-7551; E-mail: Mumia@aol.com, <http://www.Mumia.org>.

Tales From The Planet



Kent State Murders Memorialized

Kent State University (KSU) announced that on May 4, 1999, the Ohio college parking lot where Sandra Scheuer, Jeffrey Miller, Allison Krause, and Bill Schroeder were shot to death by the Ohio National Guard on May 4, 1970, will be closed to traffic and a full memorial created. The deaths occurred during a campus demonstration when troops fired armor-piercing ammunition at unarmed student anti-war protesters. The 67-shot barrage also wounded nine youths.

The decision comes after 28 years of struggle to close the lot completely. During this year's annual May 4 commemoration, Ron Kovic, the paralyzed anti-war veteran featured in the film "Born on the Fourth of July," led about 300 people on a march to the KSU's president's office, where they presented letters from the parents of the murdered students.

In the 1970s, KSU attempted to literally bury history, when it built a gymnasium on part of the site despite massive protests which saw police brutality, and hundreds of arrests. Kent State resisted any kind of memorial at all until the mid-1980s, when it agreed to erect a "mini-memorial." As an alternative to KSU's half-hearted tribute, people gather each year on May 4 at Kent State as a living memorial to the victims (as well as to the two students shot at Jackson State University in Mississippi, on May 14, 1970).

U.S. Terrorism In Iran Remembered

Amidst all the media blather regarding so-called Islamic terrorism, a not-so-distant memory of American state terrorism went unnoticed here. July 3 marked ten years since the *USS Vincennes* shot down an Iran Air passenger plane, killing 290 of its passengers and crew. Relatives of those who died recently gathered 12 miles off the coast of Bandar Abbas, Iran to toss flowers on the spot where their loved ones perished.

Accompanied by the obnoxious presence of the Iranian national anthem and the Iranian Navy, the families chanted "Marg Bar Amrika" (Death to America). A 13-year-old girl read a poem dedicated to her father who died there.

The Bandar Abbas to Dubai flight was on its way to Saudi Arabia for the annual Hajj, a muslim pilgrimage. Despite the fact that the plane was rising away from the *Vincennes*, a maneuver never taken by an attacking jet, it was shot down, supposedly mistaken for being an F-14.

Although compensation was paid to most of the families of the victims by the U.S. government, the *Vincennes* commander received a Congressional medal

of Honor, and Ronald Reagan declared the tragedy "a proper defensive action." To date, no formal apology has been issued. The question remaining was the same as that on t-shirts worn by the Iranian children at the memorial which read, "For What Reason Were They Killed?"

Speaking of Ten Year Anniversaries

The Mojahedin-e Khalq, the armed faction of the Iranian National Council of Resistance, assassinated Asadollah Lajevardi in his flower shop on August 23. The killing coincided with the tenth anniversary of the massacre at Evin prison outside of Teheran, where over 10,000 political prisoners of varying ideologies were murdered over a period of several months.

Lajevardi, former chief warden of Evin, was killed along with his brother and bodyguard in his flower shop in Teheran. The assassin was a 17-year old whose father was among those killed in Evin. Following the assassination, numerous ex-political prisoners from Evin were rearrested after festive demonstrations celebrating his death.

The communiqué released by the Mojahedin described some of the crimes attributed to Lajevardi including rape, torture, torturing prisoners in front of loved ones, as well as other horrors attributed by groups like the Committee of March 8 and the Movement of Militant Women that include rape of Virgins, cutting breasts off, and tossing grenades in the midst of prisoners.

The same imperialist powers labeling

Iran a "rogue state" kept silent when the massacre occurred issued denunciations following what they branded an act of "terrorism." This incident comes almost 20 years after an atrocity committed by the Mojahedin where they burned down a movie theater in Abadan, killing hundreds, and then claimed the Shah was responsible.

Bread and Puppet Festival Halted

The Bread and Puppet Theater has cancelled its annual festival held at its headquarters in Glover, Vermont following the murder of a man at this year's events. The group is known for their use of evocative, giant puppets during their 40-year history of participation in anti-war and social justice issues. They have been an inspiration to a generation of similar projects such as San Francisco's Art and Revolution.

The Domestic Resurrection Circus and Pageant, which presents magical outdoor performances, began attracting increasingly larger and rowdier crowds which were inconsistent with the event's peaceful purpose.

The troupe apologized to their neighbors and promised supporters they would remain in Glover, but feature smaller theater events in the coming summers.

Peltier Denied Parole Again

AIM activist and long time political prisoner Leonard Peltier was again denied parole on May 4. The parole board announced it had rejected Peltier's request for release just hours after the parole hearing.

Peltier was falsely convicted for the deaths of two FBI agents during a government assault on the Pine Ridge, North Dakota reservation in 1975.

Peltier reported that board members made statements like, "The government can't prove who is responsible for the agents' death, but someone has to pay," and "We spoke with one of the agent's wives and she wants you to die in here. You will not receive another parole hearing until 2008." None of Peltier's lawyers was allowed to speak at the hearing.

This comes at a time when Leonard's health has deteriorated. The problem stems from two unsuccessful jaw surgeries and radiation doses that have made things worse. He can't open his mouth to eat, and prison authorities refuse to put his meals in a blender. He is also unable to open his mouth to receive urgently needed care for two abscessed teeth, putting him in danger of fatal septicemia, an infection spreading through the blood stream to vital organs such as the heart.

The Northwest Leonard Peltier Support Network has set up an Anti-Racist Emergency Network (AREAN) in order to respond to attacks by racist anti-tribal groups such as Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise and Protect Americans Rights and Resources. To get on the mailing list or for more information, contact NWLPSN, 5201 Capital Blvd., Ste.119, Olympia, WA 98501.

SF Mayor Gets His Just Dessert

Liberal San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown caught a couple of pies in the face November 7, courtesy of the Biotic Baking Brigade. They were protesting the "skyrocketing level of evictions" in the city to make way for gentrification. The group charged Brown with "collusion with big business, landlords and developers to perform an economic cleansing of San Francisco."

Unlike most pied targets, Brown, his face splattered with cherry and pumpkin goop, threw a punch at his attacker. Three men and a woman were taken into custody and charged with a felony count of conspiring to assault a public official. Fortunately for Brown, he was wearing sweats at the time rather than his usual attire of costly Brioni suits.

Brown joined a list of recently pied targets including Microsoft chair, Bill Gates, right-wing economist, Milton Friedman, designer Oscar de la Renta, and the president of Monsanto Chemical.

Las Vegas Anti-Racists Murdered

Over the Fourth of July weekend, Lin "Spit" Newborn and Dan Shersty, two anti-fascist skinhead activists with Anti-Racist Action-Las Vegas (ARA), were shot execution-style. Their bodies were found 150 yards apart from each other in a desert area used as a target practice site by local neo-Nazis. They were last seen alive with two women, believed to be covert fascists, who lured them to their deaths. Police charged local nazi activist John Edward Butler with the killings after ballistics reports showed his gun was the murder weapon.

Spit is survived by his two-year-old son for whom a trust fund has been set up. Contributions or condolences can be sent to Anti-Racist Action-Las Vegas, PO Box 29057, Las Vegas NV 89126-3057.

Call the Los Angeles Anarchist Black Cross chapter at 213-769-5309.

Fifth Estate

The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, nonprofit project, publishing since 1965. The people who produce it are a group of friends who do so neither to secure wages nor as an investment in the newspaper industry, but to encourage resistance to an unjust and destructive society.



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A drumming circle at a Washington DC June 27 protest following Leonard Peltier's denial of parole. —photo/Julie Herrera



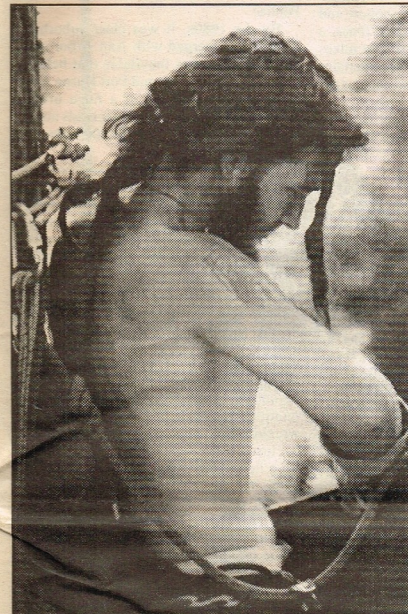
Murder in the Redwoods

—from Earth First!

On September 17, 24-year-old Earth First! activist David "Gypsy" Chain was pronounced dead in the woods he was working to defend.

Gypsy died from massive head injuries after being struck by a giant redwood

Corporate Death Squad Kills Earth First! Forest Defender



David "Gypsy" Chain

purposely felled towards a small group of NorthCoast EF! activists who had gathered to protest an illegal logging operation on Pacific Lumber/Maxxam company land near Grizzly Creek State Park in Humboldt

Support Earth First! Stop Corporate Death Squads

For more information on David Chain's murder and Earth First!'s fight to save the wild, subscribe to the *Earth First! Journal*; \$25 yearly; POB 1415, Eugene OR 97440; 541-344-8004; on the Web: www.envirolink.org/orgs/ef, in the U.S.; or internationally at k2net.co.uk/ef.

County, California.

Chilling video tape footage captured by activists on the scene recorded the logger who felled the tree, known only as "A.E.," making death threats to the protesters just before David was killed.

On the audio, A.E. is heard clearly yelling, "Get outta here! Otherwise I'll fuckin' kill you! I'll make sure I got a tree comin' this way! Ohhhhh, fuck! I wish I had my fuckin' pistol! I guess I'm gonna just start packin' that motherfucker in here, 'cause

I can only be nice so fuckin' long. Go get my saw, I'm gonna start fallin' into this fuckin' draw!"

Before release of the video, Pacific Lumber (Palco) president John Campbell declared Chain's death was a "tragic accident." Local police failed to seal off the crime scene and no investigation was initiated. Gypsy's fellow activists from NorthCoast EF! had to stop Palco loggers from re-entering the site the next day. They continued to stand guard at the place where this beloved member of the EF! family was slain.

We all know Earth First!er David Chain's death was no accident. It was simply the latest escalation in a campaign of fear, intimidation and harassment perpetrated by lumber companies whose only concern is profits and expansion, directed at nonviolent forest defenders who love the

woods and put the Earth first. Palco/Maxxam must be held accountable for Gypsy's death, for the destruction of the world's last unprotected ancient redwood forests and for condoning violence towards nonviolent activists.

Activists from the Mattole region of northern California and Cove Mallard in Idaho described similar confrontations with aggressive loggers in the *EF! Journal*. Their stories of being chased through the woods by gangs of loggers with baseball bats, having trees sawed out from

"The eco-warrior does not fight people, he fights an institution, the planetary Empire of Growth and Greed. He fights not human beings, but a monstrous megamachine never seen since the days of the Jurassic and the carnivorous dinosaur. He fights a runaway technology, an all-devouring entity that feeds on humans, on all animals, on all living things, and even finally on minerals, metals, rock, soil, on the earth itself, on the bedrock basis of universal being!"

—Edward Abbey, *Hayduke Lives!*

under them and campsites ripped apart and burned in the dark of night, give a clear indication that this type of terror may happen wherever Earth First! is taking a stand against timber corporation chainsaws.

Naturally, the authorities are doing nothing to protect the activists from these corporate goon squads, which have now become a death squad. In fact, the same sheriff's department now in charge of in-

"We are so proud of Dave and the work he was doing with Earth First! We believe his death will not be in vain. It gives us great peace knowing that he died fighting for what he believed in."

—Family of David Chain

vestigating David Chain's death applied pepper spray directly to the eyes of Earth First! protesters during a civil disobedience action last year in a case of police brutality that made headlines across the nation.

David Chain will be deeply missed by the family of forest defenders he leaves behind and will always be remembered for his commitment to putting the Earth first. Please join us in mourning the loss of this brave activist from the frontlines of the ecological resistance movement and in angrily condemning Pacific Lumber/Maxxam for the blatant disregard for human life they have shown in their quest for profits.

We encourage all who are shocked by the climate of violence created by the timber industry and the authorities to express your outrage. It is reasonable to conclude the same fate awaits other peaceful environmentalists if something is not done to prevent it. Not one more ecowarrior must die in defense of Mother Earth. The message in Gypsy's death is loud and clear: putting the Earth first means putting your life on the line.

Here's what you can do: Organize protests, rallies, marches, press conferences, letter campaigns and vigils. Issue press releases and solidarity statements to the media. Write letters or submit editorials to your local newspapers. Speak out on freeradio and community radio stations. If at all possible, come to Humboldt and join the resistance!

The men responsible for Gypsy's death have names; here are two who bear some of it most heavily:

*Pacific Lumber president, John Campbell, 125 Main St. Scotia, CA 95565; (707) 764-4269; fax (707) 764 4150

*Maxxam president, Charles Hurowitz, 5847 San Felipe, Houston, TX 77057; (713) 975-7600; fax (713) 952 4795

An injury to one is an injury to all! We must defend the right to engage in protest, civil disobedience and nonviolent direct

action to protect the forests David Chain died to save, and stop the destroyers of the Earth who committed this crime from doing it again. We did what respect for the Earth demanded we do. And they killed him for it.

David Chain gave his life for the wild. Justice must be done! Groups that are organizing the fight for justice for David Chain are:

NorthCoast Earth First!: POB 28, Arcata, CA 95518; (707) 825-6598, nccf@humboldt.com; Mendocino Environmental Center 106 W. Standley St., Ukiah, CA, 95482. The Bay Area Coalition for Headwaters (BACH) c/o Ecology Center, 2530 San Pablo Ave. Berkeley, CA 94702; (510) 548 3113; Environmentally Sound Promotions, POB 2254, Redway CA.

Copies of the video tape can be obtained through the *Earth First! Journal*. Donations for the Gypsy Legal Fund and condolence cards for his family can be sent to the Trees Foundation, POB 2202 Redway, CA 95560 (707) 923-4377.



David Chain on a tripod blocking a logging road. photos/Jim Hair

Detroit Seen

Welcome to the Winter 1999, #352, issue of the *Fifth Estate*. This edition follows our Summer issue by about six months. Maybe, like *Anarchy* has in its recently published issue, we should stop any pretense of quarterly publication, and openly state that we are publishing twice yearly for the time being. One problem with that is the Post Office demands a four-time yearly schedule for us to remain eligible for our special mailing status. This issue was delayed even longer than normal due to the great Blizzard of '99 which hit Detroit.

Thanks to our writers, artists, and photographers who have produced our usual quality publication, and to our subscribers and Sustainers who continue to keep us financially solvent.

There was a minor theft at our office a few months ago in which the only thing taken was several endorsed checks. If you sent in a remittance for a subscription, donation, or books which was never cashed, please contact us. Also, we have a large book order that got separated from its envelope containing the address and, unfortunately, we cannot read the signature on the letter.

Minor errata for last issue: Martin of @Distribution in London writes us that the accents we identified as being Midlands English in our article on Chumbawamba are actually Northern; and in the same piece, Sunfrog wrote from Tennessee to remind us that the Detroit show at 404 where the band played was in October 1992 as part of an anti-Columbus Day weekend which featured the Icemakers of the Revolution the night before.

In July, we wrote to Ted Kaczynski, the confessed Unabomber, offering him an opportunity to respond to our critiques and criticisms of his acts and ideas which have appeared in these pages. We included the previous four *Fifth Estate* issues containing articles about him and his bombing campaign against industrial society.

We ran afoul, however, of the stupid and arbitrary rules which govern prisons; specifically, that federal penal inmates may only receive three publications in a single mailing. Our letter was passed on to him, but the papers were returned. We reshipped them in two packages, but to date, Kaczynski has not responded to our offer for space in our paper nor for a free prisoner's subscription.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons form letter accompanying the returned issues informing us of our mailing rules infraction was an extremely odd piece. Along with the many reasons listed on the one page sheet for returning items (such as "sexually explicit personal photos"), there also were other contraband categories titled "body hair" and another, "plant shavings."

Is there a problem of such frequency in federal pens with people sending body hair and plant shavings that it necessitates a printed category? Who would send body hair? Exactly what are plant shavings? Are we living such a sheltered life that we are missing the erotic or elicit purposes these items play in prison life? Someone please give us a clue.

By the way, you can join the thousands penning everything to Ted from marriage proposals to fan letters by writing him at Theodore Kaczynski, 04475-46, PO Box 8500, Florence CO 81226.

Dept. of Unconscious (or is it conscious?) Racism: We rarely get a look at the scab papers in the city since the newspaper strike is dragging on toward its fourth year (see below), but one of our staff members found a recent issue of note at a local restaurant. The December 11 *Detroit Free Press* ran a *New York Times* reprint describing the efforts of the ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee, John Conyers of De-

before the strike was settled everyone involved will be dead or gone, company lawyers announced another round of appeals which should push any final decision years into the future.

In the meantime, subscriptions to the two papers continue to decline while striker action remains relentless with teams of workers chasing down scabs and management from their downtown headquarters to numerous out-of-town forays.

During the newspaper strike and lockout, *Detroit Free Press* and *News* strikers received a certain amount of support and sympathy from the weekly *Metro Times*, a self-described alternative paper that mixes a liberal slant on the news with entertainment listings, sexy personals and copious advertising.

While the *Metro Times* never issued a specific call to boycott the two scab pa-

Not for a stupid sex scandal Impeach Clinton for his Crimes Against the People of Iraq



Although the media largely ignored protests against the bombing of Iraq, they occurred all over the country. In Detroit, hundreds turned out on a busy street. photo/Rebecca Cook

Clinton's US/UN imposed sanctions have already killed 10 percent of the Iraq population. 1.5 million people are dead which includes 6000 children who die monthly. The economic sanctions are weapons of mass destruction. They are a crime against humanity that have served to strengthen Hussein, weakened his opposition, and failed to force him to comply with UN resolutions.

Every sentence of Clinton's late-December speech justifying the bombing of Iraq—the act of shooting fish in a barrel dubbed "combat"—was a lie. Despicable as Hussein may be, he represents no threat to the U.S. and little to countries in the region. Bombing this former U.S. asset is done to secure Anglo-American oil revenues, test military equipment, affirm the right of the U.S. to strike anywhere on the globe, and, when need be, act as a diversion from domestic problems.

U.S. Out of the Middle East!

troit, on behalf of President Clinton during the impeachment proceedings.

The headline the louts on Lafayette came up with for the story was "Conyers true to role as Clinton's spear carrier." Although the term has legitimate usage, the application of it to an African-American can only make one wince. Color blind and insensitive, or an oh-too-hip, double entendre from a post-modern scab?

As we write, the newspaper strike is continuing with no end in sight even though the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled unanimously earlier this year in favor of the strikers, charging the papers with causing the strike, refusing to bargain in good faith, and numerous other violations of the federal labor law.

It ordered the *Detroit News* and *Free Press* to hire back the remaining one thousand locked-out workers and begin bargaining. Still counting on *Detroit News* papers CEO Frank Vega's prediction that

pers, it did report on the companies' gestapo-like tactics and inept replacement workers. Currently, its editor and managing editor are striking newspaper writers.

So, it came as a shocking surprise that Desiree Cooper, the *Metro Times* editor-at-large, was to begin at the *Free Press* in January as a scab columnist. Cooper is taking the slot previously held by Susan Watson, an inspirational striker, who, alone among the paper's big-shot columnists refused to cross the picket line. Cooper, who often writes about moral issues and teaching children lessons, is advancing her career by stabbing Watson in the back. Great role model.

Results from the recent Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) election showed mixed results for incumbents. Current General Secretary Fred Chase turned back a challenge from Alix Buss from the Philadelphia branch, but the IWW membership voted overwhelming to oust *Industrial*

Worker editor, Jon Bekken, in favor of a Detroit-based collective. The paper will be produced in this city while the IWW general headquarters remains in Ypsilanti, a city 30 miles to the west of us.

Each day, metro Detroit gobbles up acres of woods and meadows on its edges as builders throw up subdivisions, commercial sites and industrial parks where once there had been only nature. It's nothing new. At midcentury, people began to notice that Detroit's insatiable sprawl had consumed once-distant towns like Mt. Clemens and Pontiac.

By the 1980s, it was clear suburban Detroit had merged with Ann Arbor and Brighton. It seems inevitable that before too many years, Flint and Port Huron will simply be appendages of a huge urban blob that starts at Toledo and spreads north and west from the water for 100 miles or more.

Urbanization got a serious boost in November when the Mother of all Malls, Great Lakes Crossing, opened on metro Detroit's northern edge in Oakland County. This mall is pathetic on several levels. Local officials crowed about its size—thousands of acres alone devoted to parking; hundreds of stores; a so-called rain forest-theme restaurant, and "a food court as big as Utah," as the adverts boast.

Boosters whipped area shoppers into such a frenzy that a few dozen pilgrims spent the cold night before opening day bivouacked outside this cathedral of commodities so they could be first inside to worship. Oakland County now has seven enclosed malls where consumers can enter a hermetically sealed environment to shop until they drop.

Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer in late 1998 told one of the city's most famous artists to take his *objets d'art* and get the hell out of town. Archer, a longtime member of the Founders Society, which runs the Detroit Institute of Arts, began attacking Tyree Guyton, who has attracted international attention by turning a couple of blocks on Heidelberg Street on the near east side into a living folk art installation.

Guyton decorates abandoned homes, vehicles and vacant lots with tens of thousands of found items ranging from tennis shoes to toys to street signs to lunch boxes. He also loves polka dots, pink and green ones especially, and they show up on the pavement and on the old doors and tires he has stationed on nearby vacant property.

The effect on one of Detroit's poorest and most blighted neighborhoods is startling. It enlivens the dreary streetscape and poses questions about cities, abandonment and art. A few years ago, during an epidemic of schoolgirl rapes and murders in abandoned houses, Guyton affixed dozens of naked baby dolls to a tumbling down, three-story home. The image of innocents being slaughtered was stark and unsettling.

The former mayor, Coleman Young, bulldozed that house and some other Guyton works. But Guyton continued to decorate. Archer, who was once a member of the Michigan Supreme Court, filed a lawsuit against Guyton. The artist's supporters reacted by painting polka dots on dozens of city buildings, statues and streets.

At this writing, the suit is still in the courts and the fate of the Heidelberg Project still in doubt.

I went to Chicago on May 3 to attend the dedication of the Haymarket monument as a U.S. National Park Service Historic Landmark. The irony of a monument to executed anarchists being recognized as "historically significant" by the same government they so vehemently opposed was not lost on me.

Still, I wanted to bear witness to the event as part of the long history of the Haymarket Affair, begun so long ago. On the drizzly night of May 4, 1886, a person still unknown threw a bomb into the ranks of Chicago police who were dispersing a street meeting of anarchists protesting police brutality against workers striking for the eight-hour day.

Eight anarchists—Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolph Fischer, Oscar Neebe, Louis Lingg, George Engel, Michael Schwab, and Samuel Fielden—were arrested, tried in a farcical trial, and convicted, even though it was proven that none of them was the actual bomb thrower. The prosecution freely admitted the defendants were convicted solely because of their political beliefs.

Five of these men were condemned to death. While Lingg cheated the hangman by committing suicide, the other four, Parsons, Spies, Fischer, and Engel, were hung by the neck until dead. Neebe, Schwab, and Fielden were given stiff jail terms, but later pardoned by Illinois Governor John Altgeld.

The judicial murders of the Chicago anarchists galvanized radicals all over the world. The names of the many anarchists and even Communist Party functionaries who chose to be buried in the shadow of the Haymarket monument—Lucy Parsons, Emma Goldman, Voltarine de Cleyre, Ben Reitman, Harry Kelly, William Z. Foster, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn—evoke the memory of an entire generation of activists whose political eyes were opened by the Haymarket executions.

In 1893, a monument was erected over the graves of the Haymarket martyrs by the Pioneer Aid and Support Association, an organization whose purpose was to support the imprisoned anarchists and their families and to keep the memory of the fallen comrades alive. A beautiful and inspiring sculpture, it has served as a beacon for radicals around the world for generations.

A Dreamscape of Contrasts

This was the long and venerable history I came to share. It was also the history that the Illinois Labor History Society (ILHS) and the National Park Service were determined to suppress. Walking through the gates of Forest Home (formerly Waldheim) Cemetery that afternoon, it was like Alice through the Looking Glass. I was transported to a dreamscape of contrasts and contradictions, of irony and inverted truths.

Rather than an accurate accounting of the historical significance of the Haymarket martyrs, the afternoon was a well-orchestrated imposition of historical revisionism, coldly calculated to make the martyrs acceptable to a middle-class trade unionism they would never have condoned. Like the monument itself, newly cleaned and refurbished for this dedication, the

The Contest for Memory



Haymarket Through A Revisionist Looking Glass

by G.L. Doebler

Last issue, the Fifth Estate announced a ceremony where the famed Haymarket Martyrs Monument in Chicago was to be declared a federally designated National Historic Landmark. Unbeknown to us, there had been intense agitation by local anarchists against this. G.L. Doebler attended the dedication ceremony and his report makes clear why the opposition was so intense.

truth was similarly sanitized and refurbished for the occasion.

Instead of the small group of anarchists and antiquarians I had expected, I found three or four hundred trade unionists, Illinois Labor History Society (ILHS) members, and representatives of various authoritarian political parties, who, like lampreys attached to sharks, were busy peddling their papers. The site of the monument and surrounding graves was covered with a large, festively striped canopy, rows of folding chairs, and a stage.

If it hadn't been for the absence of ribs and the presence of communists, I'd have sworn I had walked into a Labor Day barbecue. A brass ensemble and German-language chorus were employed for the occasion and as I surveyed the scene, the band struck up a song. "The Internationale"? "The Marseillaise"? No. It was "America the Beautiful." How completely inappropriate, thought Alice. Still, she naively had little inkling that this was merely a portent of the even stranger sights and sounds to come.

With the triumphant strains of a patriotic ode filling the air, the Communist Party dispensed literature from a table on Emma Goldman's grave. A young actress in turn-of-the-century dress portraying

Lucy Parsons mingled with the crowd. When the time came for the official dedication a broadly smiling "Lucy" unveiled the government's small granite marker.

She looked happy and relaxed, more than glad to do the bidding of the Park Service. This was not the real Lucy Parsons who opened her husband's coffin after the executions and cried, "Oh, Albert, they have killed you!" This was not the anarchist firebrand Lucy Parsons who is buried just a few feet away and who struck fear into the hearts of Chicago's ruling class leading marches of the hungry and unemployed.

Patriotism and Benediction

The nicely printed program listed the speakers: the ILHS president; representatives of the Park Service; and an endless list of labor bureaucrats including the president of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Not one anarchist was invited to speak. Not one rank-and-file worker.

Even worse, the ceremony opened with a Catholic benediction. If playing "America the Beautiful" at the graves of men put to death by the state for their anarchist ideals, what can blessing their graves of anarchists be considered?

Where were the anarchists? There were

some there. Of course, on this side of the looking glass they were the enemy. A small group of comrades from Chicago's Louis Lingg Society and Autonomous Zone gathered close to the monument to protest this profound perversion of history. A group of beefy, burly men wearing union logos on their t-shirts and jackets were present to protect the good citizens

gathered to honor the anarchist martyrs from these fearsome real-life anarchists.

When the Tirst speaker took the podium, the anarchists began to shout and chant. The wall of men around the anarchists thickened as reinforcements arrived. "Shut up! You are not respecting the speaker!" "This dedication is a mockery," the anarchists replied. "These men were anarchists!"

When Chicago Monsignor John Egan began intoning his divine utterances, one of the anarchists yelled, "No god, no kings!," and the priest was temporarily drowned out by a sea of catcalls, among them mine. "The church cried out for these men's deaths!" This was more than I could take.

An Anarchist Could Speak

Pushing and shoving erupted between the anarchists and the goon squad. Some punches were thrown. Then it was over. A truce was struck.

The dedication officials promised that an anarchist could speak from the podium if the protesters stopped disrupting the ceremony, a promise on which they later reneged. Although there was no more violence, the goon squad, with backup from the Forest Park cops, cordoned off the protesters during the rest of the proceedings. No damned anarchists were going to disrupt the government's dedication of the preeminent anarchist historical site in North America. The government killed 'em, and goddammit, the government would bloody well dedicate 'em, too.

With the exception of Carlos Cortez, longtime Wobbly, poet, and artist, who was limited to reading a poem, not one person spoke who could even be called a radical or a leftist, let alone an anarchist. There were brief introductions of descendants of some of the martyrs, and historian Paul Avrich gave a brief description of the Haymarket Affair, but never was it mentioned that the men whose monument was being dedicated were anarchists.

Instead, speaker after speaker characterized the martyrs as "labor activists" who died for "workers' rights," good American trade unionists who lost their lives in the fight for the eight-hour day, a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, mom, and apple pie. Pious labor hacks invoked the memory of the martyrs in support of everything from pro-labor legislation to saving Social Security.

Mercifully, Alice's trip through the revisionist looking glass soon ended. For the moment at least, the history of the Haymarket martyrs was rewritten. The government's plaque reads: "This monument represents the labor movement's struggle for workers' rights and possesses national significance in commemorating the history of the United States."

This statement is amazing both for what it does and for what it doesn't say. It is, to

paraphrase Voltaire, a plaque of lies played on the dead. There is no mention of anarchism, of the struggle for liberation from religious superstition and government, of the ideal that the fruits of the Earth and of human toil should be shared by all, of the sham that was, and is, American justice.

The ILHS should be ashamed. Entrusted by the Pioneer Aid Society with the deed to this monument, they have betrayed that trust by perverting the memory of the martyrs. Purporting to be historians, they have violated the historian's ethical responsibility to tell the truth about the past. Claiming to be guardians of the history of labor, they have done a great disservice to working people by denying them the real

to learn about and claim the legacy of Haymarket; however, if the price of that recognition is the denial of the ideals of the martyrs and the truth of the Haymarket Affair, we must protest that it is at too dear a cost.

Albert Parsons said, "Every great robbery that was ever perpetrated upon a people has been by virtue of and in the name of law." He did not ask for laws to "protect" working people.

Louis Lingg said, "I despise you. I despise your order, your laws, your force-propped authority." He would not have been satisfied with the New Deal.

Adolph Fischer said, "I was tried... for murder, but I was convicted on Anarchy."

He did not claim to be a martyr for the eight-hour day.

August Spies predicted that "the day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today."

Sadly, that magnificent silence is being prostituted by the ILHS on behalf of bankrupt business unionism.

Keeping the truth alive about the 1970 murders of students at Kent and Jackson State face similar disinformation efforts and co-optation. We keep the truth alive and honor the fallen by gathering every May 4 at Kent State University as a living monument.

Similarly, anarchists can keep the truth of Haymarket alive by gathering at the monument every May 1 to claim it as our own.*



history of the Haymarket martyrs and their anarchism.

The truth is that the anarchism of the Haymarket martyrs provided the vision of a just society that inspired working men and women to fight against their oppression. And the anarchist movement provided some of the best fighters in that struggle. They did not, however, fight for the eight-hour day, or higher wages, or pro-union legislation. They fought to abolish the wage system, destroy government, explode religion, and manifestly change the very foundation of human society.

To now call them "labor activists fighting for the 8-hour day" and invoke their memory in support of "democratic rights on the job" and "trade union rights" is to perpetrate an unforgivable act of historical revisionism. To consecrate the Haymarket monument as a National Historic Landmark while strong-arming protesters and forbidding anarchists from speaking—and to pretend not to see the sinister irony and cynical deceit—is a moral and historical outrage of Orwellian proportions.

Don't get me wrong. I'm glad that organized labor recognizes the part that the Haymarket martyrs played in its history and I welcome working people everywhere

STOP THE EXECUTION OF MUMIA

Continued from page 1

tion by notorious hanging judge Albert Sabo, who presided over the original force of a trial and the post-conviction hearings. Sabo's pro-prosecution bias was so blatant that the Philadelphia Daily News, which generally serves as a mouthpiece for the police, complained that Sabo's "heavy handed tactics can only confirm suspicions that the court is incapable of giving Abu-Jamal a fair hearing."

Despite the rigged trial and hearings conducted by Sabo, a mountain of evidence has come out demonstrating Jamal's innocence and the tactics of lies, coercion and terror wielded by the Philadelphia District Attorney's office and the cops to secure Jamal's conviction. At least five witnesses from different vantage points told police that another man—not Jamal, who was found slumped on the street after being shot in the chest—had run from the scene of the shooting.

The prosecution's claim that Jamal's legally registered pistol was the murder weapon is refuted by the simple fact that there is no evidence that the gun was even fired that night, much less by Mumia.

The executioner's axe is being sharpened. If Pennsylvania carries out its threat to execute Mumia, it will be an international incident comparable to Nigeria's execution of anti-Shell environmentalist, Ken Saro-Wiwa.

The international Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal are calling on people to respond to negative court decisions or the setting of a death date with demonstrations in their local area the next work day, and regional demonstrations the following week-end. Be ready!

Federal statutes make death penalty appeals difficult; our strength to save Mumia lies in the streets, not the courts.

Victory for the Gandalf Three

When we left the Gandalf Three in our Summer 1998 edition, Noel Molland, Steve Booth and Saxon Burchnell-Wood, editors of England's *Green Anarchist*, they were imprisoned following a guilty verdict for conspiring to incite others to cause criminal damage.

The charges and three year prison sentence stems from GA's reporting of economic and ecological sabotage carried out by the shadowy animal and earth liberation fronts which have caused millions of pounds of damages to earth rapers and animal killers.

The good news is that the three were released on bond in late March 1998, and the conviction overturned on appeal.

Describing the case against them as "fatally flawed," Lord Justice Henry at the London's Court of Appeal said that the indictment had been improperly brought. In a stinging attack on the original trial judge, described by the defendants as "the most biased judge in Britain," the appeals judge said this did not mean that the defendants were being released on a technicality, but "the events that flawed their trial were too fundamental."

Refusing an application by the Crown for a retrial, Justice Henry ruled that the sentences handed down by Judge David Sellwood would have been "excessive" even if the defendants had been guilty.

Thanks in no small part to the outcry generated by the many individuals and organizations who supported the defendants, whether by signing solidarity pledges, attending meetings, writing protest letters or publicizing the horrendous injustice this case represented, the prosecution of the three defendants has been completely and totally defeated.

For more information contact the Gandalf Support Group, Box 66, Stevenage SG1 2TR, UK; or www.cbuzz.co.uk.

African Anarchist Speaks in Detroit

Although anarchism emerged in the 19th century as a European political philosophy opposed to capitalism and the state, its ideals are manifest throughout the world.

A representative of Nigeria's Awareness League, Sam Mbah, spoke at Detroit's Trumbull Theatre in November on the application of libertarian ideals within an African context. He noted how the principles of anarchism were mirrored by traditional African village democracy, and how existing nation state boundaries on that continent are based on those of former colonies, ignoring tribal pre-state territories.

Mbah described the 600-member league as small compared to the major Nigerian political parties, but was hopeful their influence will grow. The League was formerly a leninist organization, but after significant internal debate, changed its perspective to one of anti-authoritarianism.

The League needs anarchist books, pamphlets and zines for use in their organizing efforts. Please send what you can to Samuel Mbah, Awareness League, P.O. Box 1920, Enugu, Nigeria. Please mail in plain envelopes with nothing political on the outside.

Defend the Monument

Comrades from Chicago's Louis Lingg Society and Autonomous Zone are continuing their campaign to keep the truth about the Haymarket martyrs alive and to combat the lies and half-truths of the ILHS. As they so aptly ask, "Is it not complete hypocrisy to love the martyrs and hate their anarchism?"

They have an extensive education package available about this shameful incident and the monument's history. Contact them at Box 163, 1340 W. Irving Park, Chicago IL 60611, and please enclose a donation for postage.

The Fifth Estate received the latest *ILHS Reporter*, 28 E. Jackson Blvd., Chicago IL 60604, which described the dedication as "an extraordinary bonding experience" and said the event "seems destined to win a place in the rich heritage of Chicago labor lore..."

In a section entitled "The Angry Ones With the Black Flags," they report, "About a dozen self-styled anarchists came to complain. Mostly youthful, they carried black flags and, to add to the

bizarre scene, some were dressed in skeleton suits." "Self-styled"? As opposed to what? Officially designated?

Everything that the article above criticizes, the ILHS article celebrated, from commie lit tables on Emma's grave to the appearance of the monsignor.

They labeled a speech by the president of the city's labor federation as "punchy," when he said labor was fighting the "same enemy fought by Gompers and Debs, Reuther and Meany." Gompers and Meany particularly, but even Reuther were more the friends of capital than of labor.

Perhaps the most dishonest part of the newsletter account was a photograph showing the base of the Haymarket monument with graffiti reading "Down With Power," along with a circle A which the newsletter ascribed to "the hands of anarchists" as if it was done the day of the dedication. According to Chicago comrades, the writing had been there for months, and none of them approved of the defacement.

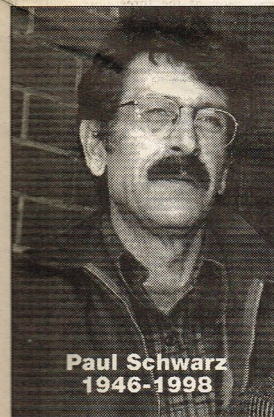
Glories of the Free Market

- The world's 225 richest men have a combined wealth of over \$1 trillion—equal to the annual income of the poorest half of the world.
- Globally, the richest fifth of humanity holds 85 percent of the world's wealth; the poorest fifth, 1.4 percent.
- The three richest men in the world have assets greater than the combined gross domestic product of the 48 poorest nations.
- 50 Americans have total assets of \$331 billion. The richest, Microsoft chair, Bill Gates, owns \$8 billion more than the assets of 104 million Americans.
- In the U.S., the richest 1 percent holds more than 40 percent of the nation's wealth, doubling their share in just 20 years.
- Middle-class Americans lost 10 percent of their wealth in the last 12 years.
- The income gap between the best and worst paid U.S. workers is now the most extreme of the 25 most industrialized nations, exceeding even economically lopsided societies like Guatemala.
- The richest fifth of the world's population consumes 86 percent of all goods and services while the poorest fifth consumes just 1.3 percent. The richest fifth consumes 45 percent of all meat and fish, 58 percent of all energy used, and 84 percent of all paper. Talk of "developing" nations is so much nonsense when these figures are examined. Resources don't exist for them to develop, and even if they did, the environment would probably collapse in a year if poor nations consumed as do rich ones. In reality, "developing nations" is a code word for poor, a status that the elite seek to maintain as a permanent category.
- Even without an expanded industrial base or becoming First World-type consumers, the poorest nations, where 800 million people are hungry and 40 million are infected with HIV, could solve their basic problems of food, clean water, and health care with only 4 percent of the combined wealth of the 225 richest people in the world.
- The real scandal of our age is that the rich are vampires whose wealth and privilege come at the expense of the death and suffering of hundreds of millions.
- Solution: Revolution.

Information from the Mainstream Media Project, Bread for the World Institute, and the 1998 United Nations Development Report.



Illustration/Richard Mock. The penetrating and often ominous linocuts of Richard Mock have appeared in this paper for several years including two front pages. An exhibition of 100 "money lures" constructed by Mock are at the Independence Community Bank (Red Hook), 498 Columbia Street, Brooklyn through February 26. Mock's sculptures raise questions about the nature of banks, money and the longing for it. Each lure has a fishhook to snag the cash, a ceramic totem to animate its power, and a tail of shredded money.



**Paul Schwarz
1946-1998**

FE Note: The area in which the Fifth Estate office is located is known as the Cass Corridor. For years, due to its proximity to an urban university, it has been home to and nurtured endless generations of youthful rebels who cross-fertilized each other in the arts, politics and (Gaia forbid), alternative lifestyles. Each learned from the other, and sometimes there were no divisions as artists were political, and politicians lived alternative lifestyles and were artists, etc. Paul Schwarz was such an individual, who functioned mostly in the arts milieu, but who also was an astute political observer, and took part in many

You Are What You Art: Paul Schwarz

activities. As his friend and co-conspirator, poet Ken Mikolowski, avered in his eulogy to him printed below, Paul's untimely departure left a hole in this community. In death, as well as life, Paul exemplified the entire community. He was buried wearing an IWW pin on his lapel.

By Ken Mikolowski

Paul Schwarz made pure art, a spiritual art without pretense, but with plenty of intensity and emotion. He had a fascination for geometry and precision, but there was always a real person in his work, someone who struggled with everyday life—all its contradictions and that was always reflected in his work.

That was his genius—a balancing of simplicity and complexity, of innocence and sophistication. He had a highly developed technical skill that could be presented as raw and primitive as the city he lived in and loved.

Paul was a part of a community of artists and musicians and poets who were all so intertwined and influenced each other so much that it is certain the whole we created is bigger than the sum of its parts. But we just lost one of our major pieces. We lost our spiritual leader, Paul Schwarz, the Conscience of the Corridor.

Paul was concerned with the sense of community, how important it was to stay together, and to support each other. Christine Monhollen and Paul's house was a

major gathering spot where we all parted and schemed and hugged and patted each other on the backs. Along with Dennis Teichman and Deb King, Paul helped make Past Tents Press.

He worked with Chris on *Dispatch*, a new journal. When Jim Gustafson had problems with the Detroit Institute of Arts (DIA), Paul made a button of Jim's bandaged hand that became our symbol of unity. Paul's buttons being just another example of elevating the everyday commonplace object to art. As Dennis Teichman pointed out, Paul was a great maker of stuff. And with whatever was at hand. Give him something and it later appeared in a piece of his art. Nothing was ever wasted on Paul.

The first time I met Paul was at his studio in the Forsythe Building, probably about 1972. He was using his characteristic method of turning found objects into art. In this case, the found objects were dead mice and he arranged them on a board and covered them with a thick layer of white epoxy. As our then nine-year-old Michael said, they looked like marshmallows. Truly a unique and lovely piece that dealt with the absurdities of art reflecting life/death and its spontaneous creation into capital "A" Art.

Paul's work developed through the years with his many shows at the Willis, Feigenson and Hill galleries, and the DIA. But he never lost touch with the community he helped form. He continued his

contributions to all the Willis Gallery benefits, but as he would be first to know, it was he who benefited most from a Willis Box Show since Christine was the winning bidder on the piece he donated, and the rest, as we say, is romantic history. And you know, it's our history too because we're all a part of this whole.

Let me end with part of a poem by brother Jim Gustafson, another big piece of it all:

... it did indeed happen.
And we were all there. It happened differently
for each of us, for all of us
who were there, right there when it happened.

Those of us who were there
singing and dancing
above mere surviving,
praying and posturing,
wanting to be real with the wonder of it all.

Determined to do more than survive,
but to keep our voices vibrant,
our virtue undamaged,
our dreams unfettered.
We came and went, did good, did bad,
tried, told, cried, could've, didn't,
wanted, wasted, loved, lost, were once,
knew when, cared much, took it hard,
believed it all, and we all
spent some time in the world.

—from "The Last Roundup," *Virtue and Annihilation*

ISRAEL 50 YEARS OF CONQUEST

by Miguel Xoloti

The media celebration of Israel's 50 birthday ignores its white, settler colonial roots, and oppression of the Palestinians.

Jabalya refugee camp—
Gaza Strip.
—photo/Millard Berry

FE NOTE: We are publishing this essay to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the state of Israel. It is a substantially revised version of two articles written in the wake of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 ("The Israeli Massacre—Peace in Galilee?" and "Latin American Terror: The Israeli Connection") that appeared in the Fall 1982 *Fifth Estate* (now out of print).

Both were written by David Watson for the special edition which included Fredy Perlman's "Anti-Semitism and The Beirut Pogrom."

When the founder of organized Zionism, Theodore Herzl, proposed to create a European Jewish state in the Middle East as "an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," he was acting within a long tradition rooted in the rise of the ancient slave-state empires.

This imperial program became pre-dominant with the rise of capitalism and its expansion first into the heaths of Europe (home of "heathens" to be conquered, christianized and civilized by the developing state powers across the continent) and later to the other inhabited continents

of the world where these civilized men—explorers, missionaries, marauders, and colonizers—spread their empire.

The enterprise which all of these pyramid-builders undertook was and is nothing less than a war upon the wilderness of the other: the subjugation of nature and of "savage" peoples, the ordering and quantification of the universe, the victory of production over idleness, the construction of the Perfect State. The attitude of empire builders is always the same, no matter where they find themselves, in the lushest forest or the most arid desert. It is all "wasteland" to be subdued, dominated, transformed into energy and commodities.

Once embarked upon the imperial project, the Jewish colonists in Palestine—

many themselves once members of a little tribe slated for extermination by capitalism's robot mass-men—embraced all of its attributes. For the Zionist settlers, Palestine—in their political mythology a "land without people for a people without land"—was a wasteland and wilderness to be conquered, and the inhabitants would have to submit, go elsewhere, or be annihilated. Their dream of manifest destiny required it, just as the imperial dreams of the Spanish conquistadors, English Puritans, and the Afrikaners had earlier required it.

In his revealing introduction to Yaakov Morris' book *Masters of the Desert* (1961), Israeli founder and the country's first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion, sums up this spirit of conquest in his discussion of the Negev Desert. "The reclamation of the Negev Desert," he writes, "has more than local interest, vital as that interest may be to the State of Israel itself. Here, man is faced with a fateful and momentous challenge of nature. To conquer the wastelands, all his will and devotion, labor and energy, time-tested as well as newly invented techniques of science, will have to be employed . . . The Negev, in short, is in many respects a small and modest pilot plant in mankind's over-all battle against the desert regions anywhere."

Not only does Ben-Gurion repeat the rhetoric of the early settlers of the North American continent, he repeats the formula for his success by drawing a portrait of capital itself: "The contemporary civilization advancing into the Negev embodies many of the characteristics of those which have appeared in the past. It is based as they were upon a combination of agriculture, industry, mining and international trade, the settlement of large units of population, the combination of settlement and defense. The heritage of the past is here being enriched with the conquests of modern science and technology." The project of Israeli capitalist development—successful settlement and economic expansion—cannot be achieved, of course, "without the transformation of the facts of nature," he adds. "Science and pioneering will enable us to perform this miracle."

All of the elements are present: science and technology, industrialism and trade, urbanism, defense—all summed up in one word: pioneering. Of course the battle of the pioneer against the wilderness is also a struggle against the human fauna which is inevitably present in it. Here too, the Israeli model follows the general rule, be it in the development of the Negev for economic and military purposes (and a veritable war against the Bedouin tribespeople who have resided there for millennia), or in the conquest of significantly more settled areas, such as the towns, farms and orchards stolen wholesale by the Israeli colonial-settler state. As Ben-Gurion insists, "To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state bent on expansion." (See box.)

"An outpost of civilization"

Contrary to liberal pro-Zionist mystifications that it is only this season's wave of brutality against the indigenous population that squander Israel's "moral capital," the drama of fascist settlers in the West Bank and what is more or less the ethnic cleansing of Arab Jerusalem is no aberration. Israel was established from the beginning on a racist, nationalist ide-

ology of Jewish "manifest destiny." In this regard, Zionism is an integral part of the nineteenth century development of reactionary nationalist movements—and its revenge. The Jews, stateless, landless victims of every European nationalism, were themselves eventually unleashed on others as an advance guard of imperialism in the Middle East. As the Situationist International commented in 1967:

"Since its origins the Zionist movement has been the contrary of the revolutionary solution to what used to be called the Jewish Question. A direct product of European capitalism, it did not aim at the overthrow of a society that needed to persecute Jews, but at the creation of a Jewish national entity that would be protected from the antisemitic aberrations of decadent capitalism; it aimed not at the abolition of injustice, but at its transfer. . . The success of Zionism and its corollary, the creation of the state of Israel, is merely a miserable by-product of the triumph of world counter-revolution. To 'socialism in a single country' came the echo 'justice for a single people' and 'equality in a single kibbutz.'

"It was with Rothschild capital that the colonization of Palestine was organized and with European surplus-value that the first kibbutzim were set up. The Jews recreated for themselves all the fanaticism and segregation of which they had been victims. Those who had suffered mere toleration in their society were to struggle to become in another country owners disposing of the right to tolerate others. The prolonged sleep of proletarian internationalism once more brought forth a monster. The basic injustice against the Palestinian Arabs came back to roost with the Jews themselves: the State of the Chosen People was nothing but one more class society in which all the anomalies of the old societies were recreated. . . ." ("Two Local Wars," October 1967, in *The Situationist International Anthology*)

The career of Theodore Herzl, founder of the organized world Zionist movement, shows clearly the bourgeois nationalist and colonialist nature of Zionism. Herzl spent his life petitioning the various heads of Europe, including Bismarck, British imperialist architect Cecil Rhodes, the Czar of Russia and his pogromist minister Von Plehve, the Pope and the Turkish Sultan for funds and support to create a Jewish settler state in Palestine. Such a project would serve two fundamental purposes: it would siphon off the revolutionary Jewish masses and create a European outpost in the Middle East, where the Zionist state would "form a portion of the rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism," as Herzl put it in his 1896 book, *A Jewish State*.

This imperialist bulwark took the same form in Palestine in relation to the original inhabitants that such projects did everywhere (e.g. South Africa, Rhodesia and the Americas), confirming radical anthropologist Stanley Diamond's famous definition of civilization, as *conquest abroad and repression at home*. And the colonization process was the same. Ahad Ha'am, a famous Jewish writer, noted in 1891 on a visit to Palestine, that the Jewish settlers there "treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable inclination."

Origins of the Zionist state

In 1907, the Hebrew journal *Ha Shiloah* observed, "Unless we want to deceive ourselves deliberately, we have to admit that we have thrown people out of their miserable lodgings and taken away their sustenance." The German socialist politi-

ters; the newly formed state quickly employed its Absentee Property Law to dispossess thousands of their land, their shops, and their orchards. Of the approximately four hundred Jewish settlements established after 1948, some 350 were on Palestinian refugee property. Two-thirds of cultivated land was originally Palestin-

Not only did Zionism become the blighted mirror image of all the oppressive national state ideologies which immiserated and murdered the Jews, it set the stage for never-ending insecurity within a garrison state.



Israeli soldiers in Arab Old Jerusalem. photo/Millard Berry

cian Karl Kautsky noted in 1921, "Little more attention was paid to the Arabs than was paid to the Indians in North America." Employing land purchases from absentee landlords, the Jewish settlers forced small farmers and sharecroppers off land they had inhabited for generations.

At the end of World War I, Palestine was nearly 95 percent Palestinian-Arab, but by 1929, money from Europe, support from Great Britain, and land purchases and provocations had already driven almost 2,000 Palestinian families from their land. By 1940, Yoseph Weitz, head of the Jewish Agency Settlement Department, commented, "Between ourselves, it must be clear that there is no room in this country for both peoples. . . the only solution is Eretz Israel [Greater Israel], at least the Western Israel [west of the Jordan River], without Arabs, and there is no other way but to transfer them all—not one village, not one tribe should be left" (cited by Noam Chomsky in his book, *Peace in the Middle East*). During the 1948 War, three-quarters of a million people were driven from their homes by armed Zionist set-

tleman-owned. As Don Peretz noted in the September 1969 issue of the Israeli magazine *New Outlook*, as a result of the 1948 War:

"Whole Arab cities—such as Jaffa, Acre, Lydda, Ramle, Baysan, and Maida—338 towns and villages, and large parts of others, containing nearly a quarter of all buildings standing in Israel during 1948, were taken over by new Jewish immigrants. Ten thousand former Arab shops, businesses and stores were left in Jewish hands as well as some 30,000 acres of groves that supplied at least a quarter of the new state's scarce foreign currency earnings from citrus. Acquisition of this former Palestinian Arab property helped greatly to make the Jewish state economically viable and to speed up the early influx of refugees and immigrants from Europe."

Israeli military leader Moshe Dayan observed afterward, in 1969, "There is not a single Jewish settlement that was not established in the place of a former Arab village." By 1958, a quarter of a million acres of land had been expropriated from

Palestinians who had remained in Israel. This same genocidal, cultural policy remains in operation today.

Zionist propaganda, on the other hand, has always portrayed Palestine as an uninhabited desert before the arrival of the Jews, a racialist-nationalist mystique typified, for example, by the notorious declaration made by the American-born Israeli Prime Minister Golda Meir, who declared, "It is not as though there was a Palestinian people and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist." In reality the Zionist invaders "made the desert bloom" by stealing the villages, orchards, gardens and pastures from their original owners—a desert that had been in bloom for centuries. The well-known, often-repeated tale among Palestinians of a grandparent, or uncle or aunt, who went into exile carrying a few seeds from the family garden, is testimony to the world and the dreams the people driven from their homes left behind.

A Palestinian state?

Zionist ideology exploited the legitimate desires of the Jewish people to escape the cauldron of violence and extermination in Europe that brought about the annihilation of millions of their brethren. The ghastly irony of the search for security in the creation of a national state on plundered lands was that such a situation was bound to create greater and greater dangers and insecurities with higher stakes at every turn. Not only did Zionism become the blighted mirror image of all the oppressive national state ideologies which immiserated and murdered the Jews, it set the stage for never-ending insecurity within a garrison state constantly threatened by surrounding hostile nation-states which saw it as an incursion into their own national or Pan-Arab designs.

Zionism also generated another wave of victims, its own demonized outsiders, who will continue to challenge the legitimacy of Israeli manifest destiny as long as they exist as a people, however dispersed and despised they may be. The efforts of these new victims of diaspora to return to and regain their ancestral lands have at times been peaceful, at times violent, sometimes reasonable and other times murderous. The colonial hubris of the Israeli state and betrayals by the neighboring reactionary Arab regimes gave birth to a Palestinian nationalist movement which became the mirror image of Zionism, similar in its nationalist ideology, its dependence on various nation-states for support, and its methods of military struggle and terrorism. Eventually, two national movements came to face each other, arms in hand: one powerful, with an army and police and nuclear arsenal, and the backing of the world's most powerful imperialist nation; the other outgunned, betrayed by all its backers, marginalized and desperate.

Of course, media images and Zionist propaganda notwithstanding, Palestinians have overall been far more the victims of terror and violence than the perpetrators in this feud. To give a couple of examples, when Palestinian Black September commandos took Israeli athletes hostage in Munich during the 1972 Olympics, a shoot-out ensued with West German police in which the Palestinians and eleven Israelis were killed. The Israeli state immediately carried out reprisal air raids against Pales-



Israeli soldiers beat an unarmed Palestinian during a two-minute period of silence protesting celebrations of the founding of Israel, known to Palestinians as *Al Naqbah* (the catastrophe). Not one showed the slightest evidence of dismay or sympathy, only cruelty and inhumanity; characterologically, what distinguishes these men from German Nazis? Photo: New York Times

tinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon which killed three hundred people. While 192 Israelis were killed during the Palestinian Intifada on the West Bank, more

than 1300 Palestinians were killed by Israeli soldiers and settlers.

As PLO columns were being evacuated from Beirut after the Israeli invasion of

Israel and the Death Squad Dictatorships: "Best Friends"

In the Negev Desert, Israeli "Green Patrols" employed military intimidation and violence to force the Bedouins off their ancestral lands into closed areas similar to Indian reservations. In fact, all Palestinian areas have more and more come to resemble reservations of South African bantustans, a situation which has only been exacerbated by the Oslo Accords. Israel's resemblance to the English colonial expansion in the Americas is notable; thus it should come as no surprise that Israel has also been one of the largest suppliers of arms to Latin American death squad regimes, often functioning as a proxy for the U.S. when political pressure made direct arms aid impossible. Israel's customers have included El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Chile, Argentina, Bolivia and Haiti, and have generated billions of dollars in profit.

Israeli aid to Guatemala and El Salvador, countries whose rulers waged open geocidal war against Indian and mestizo campesinos throughout the 1960s, '70s and 80's, has been particularly extensive. According to the International Institute for the Investigation of Peace, Israel was the sole provider of weapons to Guatemala in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

These weapons included Arava "planes, piloted and maintained by Israeli pilots and technicians; light artillery weapons, including mortars, bazookas and grenade launchers; Gallil rifles (long the weapon of choice of Central American death squad regimes), for which the U.S. supplied five million cartridges; a tactical communications system; and at the end of 1980, a radar system, installed and controlled by Israeli technicians. Israel also provided the Guatemalan military with training in political terrorism and counter insurgency, intelligence and psychological warfare;

trained the Salvadorean "ORDEN" death squads on a site in Guatemala; and helped the Guatemalan dictatorship to set up a computerized "Regional Telecommunications Center" managed by Israeli technicians, which provided the Guatemalan death squads with one of their most formidable weapons—computerized lists of potential targets.

In November 1981, at the opening of the Army Electronics and Transmission School, General Benedicto Lucas García thanked Israel for its assistance in this advancement made in Guatemalan technology, to which the Israeli ambassador replied, "Israel considers Guatemala one of its best friends." A couple of hundred thousand people paid with their lives in the Central American holocaust for this friendship.

Israel's aid to Central American dictators dates back to its inception. When Menachem Begin was criticized for selling arms to the tottering Somoza government before its collapse in 1979, he replied, "We have a debt of gratitude with Somoza."

He was referring to an agreement made by the Israeli state in 1948 with the Nicaraguan strongman, who for the sum of \$200,000 arranged to have Yehuda Arazi (a member of the Zionist clandestine army, the Hagannah) named Extraordinary Ambassador of Nicaragua in Europe, where he then could buy up arms in the name of the Nicaraguan government which would not have been sold to the Zionist rebels. Later, Israel repaid its debt by selling arms to the brutal regime when it was totally isolated in world opinion. Such collaboration is in keeping with Israeli cooperation with reactionary states elsewhere—Iran under the Shah, Mobutu's Zaire, the South African apartheid regime, and other dictatorships.

Lebanon and terror bombing of its capital in 1982, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin declared to a group of American Jews in Jerusalem, "Very soon the fighting will be finished, and then perhaps that famous verse from the Book of Judges will be brought into realization: 'There shall be peace in the land for forty years.'" But neither the Israeli military "final solution" of the Palestinian problem in Beirut nor the peace treaty with Arafat more than a decade later have resolved the fundamental conflict. During the 1980s the Palestinian popular resistance that became the Intifada, much of it outside official PLO control, forced the Israeli state to the bargaining table as no terrorism or guerrilla warfare had. But a Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza under the present configuration of power can be little more than an exploited, repressive, militarily regulated reservation for cheap labor under the domination of Israel and perhaps Jordan. Indeed, since the signing of the sham peace, the Israeli state has failed even to comply with a minimum of its agreements, and has used the accords with the PLO to continue its consolidation of "Eretz Israel," while the PLO proto-state fiasco has rapidly been reduced to the status of a corrupt ghetto administration subservient to its Israeli oppressors and squeezed from the other extreme by an increasingly furious Palestinian population.

Some wit recently remarked that the Israeli-Palestinian debacle has become the longest lasting crisis in modern history, but it's a crisis unlikely to go on forever. In 1970, Nathan Yalin-Mor, a member of the Zionist terrorist Stern Gang in the 1940s who later became an advocate of Arab-Jewish reconciliation, observed, "A new selling out of the Palestinian people would amount to planting a time bomb to explode after a few years." While Israel maintains military superiority and the support of the U.S. military machine, Chomsky's warning in 1976 in *Peace in the Middle East?* remains valid: "In general, each military success simply reconstitutes the struggle at a higher level of military force . . . a higher level of potential danger to all concerned. From the Israeli point of view, this is a losing strategy. Israel can win every conflict but the

An increasingly lunatic Israeli nationalism has finally become a grotesque reflection of the anti-semitic fascists who set out to annihilate Jewry earlier in this century.

last." The last, unfortunately, is likely to be a social and ecological catastrophe for the region, perhaps for the whole planet. Israeli writer Uri Avneri's warnings made thirty years ago in his book *Israel Without Zionists* (1968) come to mind in the midst of the Iraqi standoff, Iran's efforts to modernize and nuclearize, and Israel's shadowy nuclear security state: "Nuclear weapons, missiles of all types, are nearing the Semitic scene," Avneri wrote; "... if the vicious circle is not broken, and broken soon, it will lead, with the preordained certainty of a Greek tragedy, toward a

holocaust that will bury Tel Aviv and Cairo, Damascus and Jerusalem."

Breaking the circle

An increasingly lunatic Israeli nationalism has finally become a grotesque reflection of the anti-semitic fascists who set out to annihilate Jewry earlier in this century. If humane elements desirous of peace and reconciliation remain in Israeli society (some of them courageous activists for peace who have faced murder and violence for their work), the Israeli right is little different from the fascist Serbs lately slaughtering Kosovans in their crusade to preserve their own mythic locus of national origin. Some fundamentalist Israeli rabbis openly argue that driving out and exterminating non-Jews, including women and children, is sanctioned in Jewish scripture. "Death to the Arabs" is a common chant at the rallies of the Israeli far right, and fascist settlers have made a shrine of the grave of mass murderer Baruch Goldstein, an American rabbi who slaughtered more than fifty Arabs as they prayed in a mosque in Hebron in 1994.

While an extremist mentality is common on the right, the mainstream is little better. Israeli courts recently approved the holding of hostages randomly taken by the Israeli military in Lebanon to be traded later, and the Likud cabinet refused to pursue an investigation of widely acknowledged Israeli military massacres of unarmed prisoners during the 1956 and 1967 wars. Israeli General Eitan, who was implicated in the 1956 massacre of Egyptian prisoners, and who now is a leader of a right wing party, has likened Palestinians on the West Bank to "cockroaches in a bottle," and Menachem Begin called Palestinian fighters "beasts walking on two paws." Such remarks prompted Israeli peace activist Gideon Spiro, who refused to serve in the reserves in Lebanon and the West Bank, to warn against the "process of dehumanization and fascization" of Israeli values. The Muslim fundamentalist suicide bombers are a distorted mirror image of their Zionist oppressors (and in fact serve the interests of the intransigent Zionists who look for every excuse to sabotage any kind of peace with justice for the Palestinian people).

From a radical, perspective, however

unrealistic, none of the basic realities has changed since *The Bulletin for Jewish-Arab Cooperation* (cited by Chomsky) pointed out in 1948 that "... the only alternative to a war between nations is not a static peace . . . but a war between classes, between ruled and ruler, of the Jewish and Arab workers and peasants against the two upper classes, against the fascist parties of both nations, and the British or other outside interests that want to control the area." What might have been possible in 1948, or in 1967, or in

See 50 Years, page 11

Palestinian Refugees: Ghosts of Israeli Conquest

by Ali Moossavi

Of all the issues raised by Israel's fifty year anniversary, none holds more pain and longing, nor embodies the Palestinian experience more, than that of the refugees.

Numbering approximately 3.3 million, the Palestinians are the largest such group in the world and have suffered that status longer than any other. Besides being scattered in a diaspora in places as far-flung as Sweden and metropolitan Detroit, many continue to reside in refugee camps close to the land they were forced from a generation ago.

In southern Lebanon, Gaza, the West Bank as well as in Libya, Jordan, Syria and Kuwait, they occupy a gulag of refugee camps marked by squalor and hopelessness. When the state of Israel was founded, the problem was viewed as so desperate that the UN established the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA) in the early 1950s as the main benefactor for Palestinians, providing social services and employment. However, this placed them outside the mandate of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), and more specifically the 1949 General Assembly Resolution 194, with its call for either Palestinian repatriation or compensation for their losses.

Israel's refusal to abide by the resolution leaves Palestinians stranded in host countries where they are often perceived as alien and unwanted elements, designated as social and economic prey in the service of molding national identities.

An acute example of this process involves the 400,000-plus refugees in Leba-

non who face a seemingly impossible living situation of high unemployment and diminishing social services, with no hope of return to their homeland. Lebanon refuses to participate in multilateral talks on refugees while pressuring the Palestinians to leave by making their lives unbearable—a policy referred to by refugees as strangulation.

The refugees in Lebanon are those displaced during the 1948 war, which established Israel as an exclusive Jewish state, as well as their descendants. They lived relatively quietly until 1969 when Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon forced the Lebanese government to accept an armed Palestinian presence. A newly established

Palestinian resistance movement assumed daily management of the camps, providing security, jobs, education, etc. This autonomous takeover of the camps was short-lived, however, when repeated assaults on refugees involved the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in Lebanon's internal strife during its ruinous civil war which began in 1975.

As the violence escalated, Israeli-backed Lebanese Phalangist militias began attacks on refugees that resulted in numerous massacres. Syria's invasion of Lebanon in the 1970s,

and its support of Christian forces, resulted in thousands of refugees being massacred such as at the Tel al-Zaatar camp that was overrun in August 1976. Palestinian autonomy came definitively to an end with the Israeli 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

When the PLO left a destroyed Beirut in the summer of 1982, the refugees were reconfinned in camps and subjected to repeated attacks from militia forces ranging from the Syrian-backed Amal militia to the right-wing Christian Phalangists. Three months after the Israeli invasion and two days after the assassination of Lebanese prime minister, Phalangist Bashir Gemayel, Israeli-transported and armed

Lebanese militia units entered the Palestinian Sabra and Shatila camps and carried out one of the worst massacres in recent history, leaving over 2,000 Palestinians dead in 38 hours.

This military assault on an increasingly defenseless population was followed by a legal one; in December 1982, the Lebanese government issued laws restricting Palestinian employment opportunities by categorizing them as foreigners. A decree by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs excluded 73 categories of employment for foreigners from banking to cutting hair. Another detailed the jobs open to those with work permits—as workers in

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Palestinian refugee children in Gaza's Jabalya camp. photo/Millard Berry

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1982, when the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was protested by a significant section of the Israeli population and the country was divided dramatically over the issue of making peace with Palestinians, seems even more remote today, as the West Bank settlement crisis deepens and the Israeli bulldozers continue their work in Arab East Jerusalem, and nationalist maniacs continue their hideous projects of mutual annihilation.

The history of Jewish presence in Palestine is undeniable; no one who loves human freedom could ever deny their right to travel and to settle there out of a centuries-long yearning to return to the sacred places of their ancestral memory and their traditions. But the desire to return to one's ancestral homeland is not the same as the desire to construct a national state upon lands wrested from another people. Only in a world with open frontiers and the abolition of the nation-state and its border police, a world of free passage without necessity of passport and papers, can national conflict be resolved and a fabric of cooperative human communities be established, and fratricidal conflict prevented. Thus, peace will come not with the (inevitably temporary) triumph of the

various regional enemies or with the construction of separate rival states, but through the destruction of all national states and the mutual recognition by Israeli Jew and Palestinian Arab, and of all the peoples of the Middle East, of the humanity and the legitimate aspirations of the other.

In Palestine-Israel, this means as fundamental precondition the abolition of Israel's repellent institution of ethnically-based citizenship, as well as respect for the inalienable prerogative of Palestinians, not just Jews, to return to their ancestral homeland. The Palestinians are, after all, descendants of the original pagan tribes of the region before the biblical exodus from Egypt, and, as Arabs, have dwelt there for more than thirteen centuries. Their rights to the places now claimed by Jews as promised by ancient tradition not only date from ancient history but from living memory.

There is also the distinctly forbidding question of the lands stolen at least since 1948—a question not resolved in monetary, but in human, personal and communitarian terms. A section of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine understood this in its 1924 declaration (cited

by Chomsky), "The main and most reliable means of strengthening peace and mutual understanding between the Jewish people and the Arab people . . . is the accord, alliance, and joint effort of Jewish and Arab workers in town and country."

Such a perspective of reconciliation based on justice seems manifestly impossible today—so much blood has been shed, so many crimes committed, so many lasting hatreds sown. And the situation holds little promise for a humane solution to the conflict in the foreseeable future.

Thugs Who Currently Rule

The thugs who presently rule in Jerusalem enjoy widespread support for their unyielding, arrogant campaigns, and are being attacked from their narrow right by those who would push them further into genocide. The Palestinians, on the other hand, are more destitute and desperate than ever, and increasingly captive to the most authoritarian, fundamentalist and militarist tendencies in Palestinian soci-

ety, tendencies aligned with some of the most brutal and despicable political currents and regimes in the world today.

Yet, however impossible it may seem, only a radical break can transform unending national conflicts into class war against the capitalist nation states; otherwise the situation will only worsen until all contending parties succumb to their mutual destruction. The road ahead is unclear, but protagonists and victims must find a way to move beyond the fatal cycle of conquest and war. To do any less will be to accept the inevitability of the most dire and tragic of consequences.

In his essay on the Negev, Ben-Gurion declared, "If the State does not put an end to the desert, the desert is liable to put an end to the State." But the State devours itself, and ultimately life along with it. Its desperation portends its approaching collapse. The desert they are making in the name of their peace cries out in agony. Can a different vision, and real peace, emerge?

Ghosts of Israeli Conquest

Continued from page 11

car washes, construction and excavation, agriculture, textiles, and the leather industry, and as servants, etc. In other words, Palestinians were allowed to be exploited in menial jobs.

The camps, which once were permitted autonomous and semi-autonomous status by the Lebanese state because of its own internal weaknesses and as a buffer against Israeli attack, were transformed into virtual concentration camps. Current tight control and surveillance is an interim process until the Israeli-PLO peace process determines their fate. Meanwhile, military encirclement of the camps creates and sustains an atmosphere of intimidation where refugees are fearful to leave because of the likelihood of harassment and physical attack. Since the Lebanese state sees the refugees as a potential force for revolution or as a strong and sustainable movement of resistance against their treatment as an exploitable underclass, the ability of refugees organizing politically and culturally has been strongly curtailed.

Lebanese policy toward the Palestinians is rooted in the refugee concept itself. Refugee camps are designed to manage uprooted people into a process of re-nationalization to another nation-state. This means that along with de-linking the refugee situation from its root causes, such policies shifts the burden of solutions to host countries and to the refugees themselves rather than holding the original country accountable. This not only places a greater burden on both parties, it sets refugees up as a target for xenophobic hostility directed at them in host countries.

Another confining measure has been the restriction of travel imposed on Palestinian refugees. In 1995, as a protest against the peace process, Libya expelled 1,000 Palestinians to Egypt and stopped renewing work permits for thousands more. About 4,000 with Laissez-Passers (Lebanese passports) tried to return to Lebanon. At the same time, Lebanon's interior ministry issued a decree requiring those with Laissez-passers also to have entry and exit visas. Since most Palestinians did not have

escape violence or because of transfer programs designed to fragment the community and to control this potentially revolutionary bloc. Self-identity is therefore determined by power relations at specific points in time. In the pre-1968 era, Palestinians rejected the term "refugee" as insulting and demeaning, preferring the label of "returner."

According to this idea the word "refugee" defines the problem as purely humanitarian, rather than acknowledging a distinct national identity and history that allow Palestinians to reclaim their homes and their hopes.

Following the 1960s emergence of the Palestinian resistance movement, refugees in Lebanon refashioned themselves from passive spectators to active resisters. But in post-1982 Lebanon, Palestinians became refugees once again, not by choice, but out of necessity. This gave them access to badly needed UNRWA services, but meant relinquishing their dream of returning to their homes. The new status also required subjecting themselves to their host government with the desperate hope of gaining rights and recognition in a foreign land.

This isn't likely, given that the Lebanese state has emerged stronger and more solidified recently, with a renewed sense of national identity which does not include Palestinians. The "refugee" label is a method of exclusion enabling the Lebanese ruling class to control and exploit Palestinians. A renewed Lebanese national identity comes with the predictable chauvinism with which nationalism is built.

Nationalism requires an enemy whose presence leads to the creation or strengthening of state mechanisms that can remove and contain the object of national scorn. In Lebanon, the rise of a renewed national identity dangerously parallels that currently found in fascist and xenophobic movements in Europe and North America. It is ironic that the Palestinians, originally expelled by Zionist colonialism for the same reasons, find their descendants receiving similar treatment from other Arabs.

The possibility of expulsion continues to loom for refugees in Lebanon at two remaining Palestinian camps outside Beirut—Shatila and Bourj al Barajneh—located on land near the international airport. The camps are slated to be razed to make way for shopping malls and the expansion of a sports arena. Also, anti-refugee sentiment continues to be expressed by government officials such as in a recent statement by Lebanese Interior Minister Michel Murr on a 1997 trip to France. He said the refugees are a security

threat comparable to the Israeli occupation of southern Lebanon.

Palestinians want to leave, but voluntarily and to their historic homes. Israel, of course, vehemently opposes this since it would both require the return of stolen Palestinian property and challenge the Israeli state's exclusive Jewish identity. In the meantime, Palestinians in Lebanon want civil rights—the right to work, to open cultural organizations, etc., but reject naturalization, which would be a negation of their right to return. Many don't identify with Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority and reject resettlement in the West Bank because it's not their land. They understandably demand a return to their specific villages of origin, many of which are in Israel. This orientation toward the tradition and place of the village functionally negates any larger nationalism or nationalist solution.

In the face of continual reversals for the Palestinians, a recent breakthrough has been the emergence of self-representation by the refugees themselves. In spite of the physical depredations, the camps can be sites for exciting and long-range struggle, which has also marked the Palestinian refugee experience. Previously, being the objects of scholarly study, refugees occupied a vacuum that didn't regard them as agents of history or producers of culture. Edward Said mentions the 1955 book, *Social Forces in the Middle East* by Sydney Fisher, as an example which only mentions refugees "as a minor irritant to progress . . . or as statistics on the United Nations agenda for refugees in general."

Even the defenders of the refugees are marginalized. At the 1994 Oxford Conference on Palestinians in Lebanon, Palestinian presenters on camp conditions were crammed into a single panel with less time to speak than international and Lebanese speakers. However, despite past and continued marginalization of refugee voices under the weight of the scholarly work about them, self-representation is finally emerging in film, plays, poetry and essays. Refugee voices are emerging and expressing their viewpoints unhindered, like that of the study of refugee attitudes to the peace process released by the Campaign for Refugee Rights to Return.

Hopefully, it won't take another fifty years to see the emergence of a determined Palestinian identity free of politically nationalist trappings, even in the face of increasing repression from host countries as well as further Israeli aggression. Already the victims of ethnic cleansing, refugees will likely be targets for further land dispossession and expulsion. Their only defense that won't don't lead down the dead end road of nationalism is a revolutionary movement on par with the early resistance movement of the camps, firmly grounded in anti-authoritarian principles. The potential lies in their identification with their villages of origin as opposed to a modern nation state.

But that could easily change, given the history of other movements, such as Zionism, which faced similar conditions and wound up operating on authoritarian models mirroring their oppressors. If so, the Palestinians will continue to suffer the degradations of the state and capital, a common thread to which all nations are bound. Whatever the future, the fact remains that the refugee existence is the product of racism and colonialism, and further evidence of the failure of nationalism and the nation state.



photo/Nick Medvecky. In 1969, Fifth Estate staff member, Nick Medvecky, visited refugee sites in Jordan. Here, Palestinians line up at a U.N. medical building near Amman where 100,000 displaced refugees lived in a squalid camp of tents and corrugated steel shacks.

them, the function of the decree was to prevent Palestinian re-entry.

Economic conditions have also steadily worsened. According to a recent study of 1,500 women both in and out of camps in Lebanon, 94 percent of the respondents' households had a monthly income less than the sum that UNRWA considers the basic minimum for a family of five. On top of Lebanese apartheid, UNRWA's own system further maintains Palestinian marginalization by creating categories such as "registered," "nonregistered" and "displaced persons" in order to minimize refugee numbers. The agency's accountability to the UN Secretary-General and to UN major donor nations, rather than to the people it allegedly serves, not only leads it to ignore human rights abuses, but to suppress refugee voices.

The biggest gap in UNRWA's ability to provide services has been chronic deficits despite a budget increase of 70 percent from \$32 million in 1993 to \$55 million in 1997. UNRWA began imposing austerity measures, including tuition fees in UNRWA schools that led to a 1997 nine-day hunger strike. Relief came following an emergency appeal to donor countries which covered the deficit, but refugees still walk a precarious line.

Palestinians are frequently forced to move from one camp to another in order to

Immigration Control: an attempt to subvert the ecology movement

In Mexico, from where the vast majority of the immigrants are arriving, seventy percent of the inhabitants are people indigenous to the continent. The people wishing to close the borders, on the other hand, are not indigenous to the continent but are, in fact, descendants of immigrants who may even have had some part in the massacre of the original inhabitants.

FE Note: Because we are so late in coming out, this article may seem to be rather belated. In fact, the population-immigration debate continues.

Dave Foreman (former proprietor and editor of the *Earth First! Journal*) plays a key role in pushing an ugly, reactionary anti-immigration politics that does not remotely address the issues of empire and capitalism that are necessary to understand and to respond humanely and sanely to the population explosion.

The following essay appeared in *The Eastern North American Resource Center Bulletin* of the Native Forest Network (PO Box 57, Burlington VT 05402), one of the most principled and hardworking radical ecology groups in the U.S. Recent activities of the NFN include a campaign against Boise Cascade Corporation's designs on Chilean forests.

The relation between population, empire and ecological destruction was a key focus of our original critique of *Earth First!* and Dave Foreman's reactionary-chauvinist wing of deep ecology in the U.S., when we started a series of articles on *Earth First!* in the late 1980s. Our engagement played a constructive role in bringing about positive change in the organization. Unfortunately, the *Earth First! Journal* still sells the old guard's official history, Christopher Manes' *Green Rage*, but does not carry the text that came out of our critique, David Watson's *How Deep Is Deep Ecology?* (see our book pages.).

We are not suggesting *EF!* censor its book service, but we urge them to sell the Watson book as well.

by Anne Petermann

Over the past few months, the immigration issue has come to the forefront of the environmental agenda. The claim: immigration into the U.S. is the primary cause of massive population increases that are in turn causing the plundering of the resources of this country in a manner that is leading to the downfall of this great nation. The assertion continues that immigrants are using up all of "our" resources by daring to come to this country to live as well as we do. Never mind the fact that in Mexico, from where the vast majority of these people are migrating, seventy percent of the inhabitants are people indigenous to the continent. The people wishing to close the borders, on the other hand, are not indigenous to the continent but are, in fact, descendants of immigrants who may even have had some part in the massacre of the original inhabitants. The colonialist mentality continues.

The immigration issue was not well known even one year ago. Suddenly it is everywhere. The Sierra Club had a major vote on it (their members opposed the hateful initiative by a three-to-two margin), NFN has received massive packets in the mail of information opposing immigration, and there were two workshops on the issue at the annual ELAW conference

at the University of Oregon this year. How is it possible that this issue suddenly became so prominent? Perhaps it has something to do with the massive influx of money that was spent to promote it.

What is most disturbing about this issue is not so much that it is being pushed by neo-nazis and eugenicists, that is to be expected. They will use any means to prevent the entrance of those whom they deem to be "lesser breeds" into their precious country. What is most troubling is the steady stream of respected "leaders" of the conservation movement who have signed on in the name of intolerance (like Dave Foreman, Brock Evans, Farley Mowat, Paul Watson, to name a few). It is my hope that this trend is not so much a sign of racist tendencies on their part, but rather an inability to look deeply and see the real source of the problem.

The roots of environmental destruction do not lie with poor campesinos who are being forced to leave their homes in search

of the means to feed their families. It began with the theft of their traditional lands by the European invaders over 500 years ago and continues today with the global economic order that uses institutions like the World Bank to force so-called "Third World" countries to institute debt austerity programs. Through these programs, countries are given loans only if they agree to cut off vital human services and focus on resource export, both by emphasizing growing chemically dependent export crops, which ruin communities' abilities to sustain themselves, and multinational logging, mining or oil ventures. This in turn forces people to leave their homes because they no longer have a means to sustain their simple subsistence lifestyle. And why does the World Bank do this? To maintain the lifestyles of the people of the "First World," who, consuming up to seventy times the resources of the average campesino, require the import of mass quantities of resources

from the countries of the south.

Before we accuse the people of Mexico and Central America of "invading" our country and stealing our resources, we should first stop invading *their* countries and stealing their resources. Perhaps then they won't be forced to leave their homes in the first place.

Group Resists Anti-Immigrant Repression

Immigrants and others perceived to be immigrants have recently faced intensified harassment here in Detroit from city cops and INS agents, according to the Coalition Against INS Raids. The group has held informational meetings in the Latino Barrio and protests at the INS offices. Contact the Xicano Development Center, 3570 W. Vernor, Detroit MI 48216 (313-841-0838).

Two Poems by Christina Pacosz

A Commentary on Modern Existence as Noted by a Chicken on the Freeway near Columbia, South Carolina

I did not cross this road
to get to the other side,
turning chicken-hearted midway
and stopping, a stunned white blur
of feathers crouching on the broken
white line. I tumbled from a truck,
the victim of a broken latch
and freedom is a cruel joke,
my life a cruel hoax
passing before my eyes.
Life on the chicken *lager*

crowded up against a sea
of squawking feathers,
sawed-off beaks to keep us
from pecking at each other
and the profits, thousands
of chicken eyes staring up
at the sky, while rain pours down
and we drown, or the sun bakes us
right where we stand.
Stupid chickens, the verdict,
whatever the weather.

The position of the human
in the pecking order,
the rank and serial number
of our respective fates,
raises objection to the term *lager*
and all its terrible history.
Exaggeration! the counterpoint
to this lament. No matter.
Smack in the middle
of technology's awful whoosh and
whizz
no one can hear the question:

How long does it take
a chicken to die?
Rescue is a luxury
and the safety
of a quiet coop on a
backwater farm
a distant dream.
Helpless as the startled
motorists
who speed by,
my only satisfaction:
this death will not
feed them.

Shoal Creek, Solstice

Some things are, you
believe,
beyond repair—
a china gravyboat, the
fledgling bob-white.
The not too distant river.

Your life.
What to think, then,
of the pinch of tobacco
you offer brown water?

How to reconcile
the palms of both hands
together? Your head
bowed before the old oak,

roots like entrails
girding eroded limestone,
symmetrical as a hand-
built wall.

The poetry of Christina Pacosz is remarkable for its insistent and deeply compassionate crossing of that deceptive boundary between what we have been tragically trained to think of as the separate domains of culture and nature. Grief, protest, nurture and celebration are woven together in a body of work that places history within the household of the natural world, promising imminent and continual renewal of the spirit.

Born and raised in Detroit, Christina has lived all over the U.S., including in Alaska and the Carolinas, and currently lives in Kansas City. Besides publishing in numerous magazines, she has published two chapbooks, *Shimmy Up to This Fine Mud* (Poets Warehouse) and *Notes from the Red Zone* (Seal Press). Her collection, *Some Winded, Wild Beast* (Black & Red) is available for \$3 from our bookservice (see page 20 for book ordering information).

—D.W.

A crow cruises overhead,
an eye out
for eternity.
Leaves whisper

be ready
at a moment's notice
for opportunity
to walk through the door.

The following interview with Mu Xidi, a former sailor, Chinese rebel, and since 1990, a refugee in Barcelona was taken from the French book, *Bureaucratie, Bagnes et Business* (*Bureaucracy, Prisons and Profits*), published in Paris by L'insomniaque last year.

The editors, Hsi Hsuan-wou and Charles Reeve conducted 22 such interviews in China, Hong Kong, and Macao with Chinese individuals from different occupations and political perspectives. The views expressed below by Mu come closest to those enunciated by our publication on the subject of reform and revolution.

Although Mu's critique of Chinese dissidents seems accurate, it in no way advocates abandoning to the tender mercies of the ruling police state those calling for democratic reforms in China. The week of Sept. 29, two manifestos were issued in China calling for social justice and denouncing the blatant corruption which has accompanied the spread of private capitalist ventures. As Mu asserts, these reformers want no more than the rule of law and fairness in government and commerce. For these dissidents, however, many of whom have previously spent time in brutal Chinese prisons, their efforts will be undoubtedly be rewarded with further oppression.

This selection was translated from the French by the Fifth Estate staff.

Every year one hundred million pairs of shoes come out of the southern Chinese province of Fujian. Starting in 1984, the big name brand sport shoe companies installed their factories here, often administered by Taiwanese or Hong Kong firms.

More than 700,000 women work here at assembly lines in terrible conditions; the injury rate is high and the work week often exceeds 90-100 hours, six days out of seven. For the most part, the women are very young (under 26 years of age), and some are adolescents.

The dormitories they live in are adjacent to the factories and are guarded by armed security personnel who don't hesitate to take aggressive action at the first sign of complaint. An enormous proportion of the world's production of sport shoes now comes out of this region.

The same is true for toys, for plastic household items, for textiles, semi-conductors and other commodities sold on the world market. This is how China—and its "market socialism"—enters a Westerner's daily life and how China, like Malaysia, Mexico and Brazil, become integrated into the "world economy." Entire regions are transformed into gigantic concentrations of factories where an over-exploited work force labors to produce goods, a large part of which are consumed far away.

For more than ten years we've been fed the tranquilizing news that "the end of the proletariat" has arrived while, in fact, the proletarian condition has been imposed on vast populations all over the planet where capitalist development had remained embryonic. In its imposition of the proletarian condition, China nevertheless constitutes a unique example.

The Stalinist system in China successfully dissolved ancient social ties that inhibited the transition to modern exploitation of labor. In addition, the bureaucratic class managed to retain control of the State and seems to guide the transition without too many setbacks. Admittedly, the innumerable social contradictions brought about by current upheavals make it hard to predict who the future political leaders will be. The liberal-faced autocrats who enthusiastically praise the great benefits offered by opening China to the world market are constantly crossing swords with the chauvinists who want a powerful China that has an imperialist future.

Whatever the future brings, China now belongs to the planetary factory system. As a cog in the present-day hell, China is a part of our future.

—from the Introduction to *Bureaucratie, Bagnes, et Business*

Me, A Dissident? No Thanks Interview With A Chinese Rebel



The various democratic movements [courageous as they are] simply perpetuate the feudal tradition of submitting petitions to a ruler. Appalled by his abuses, the intellectuals humbly approach him to request that he please mend his ways.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: How does a Chinese dissident happen to be here in Barcelona?

Mu Xidi: I'll begin by telling you about my life. After that I'll return to your label of me as a "dissident."

I belong to the generation of "educated youth." I had just graduated from high school when the Cultural Revolution broke out. I joined in wholeheartedly. For an unruly adolescent like myself, it was the dreamed-of opportunity to scrap everything, to leave Amoy, my native city, and travel all over China. As long as the authorities needed us, we felt invincible. Our disillusionment was painful: the army intervened and almost our whole generation was deported to rural areas. We saw the horrible living conditions in the villages and discovered how wretched the situation was for the peasants. Ten years of our lives were wasted in land-clearing projects which I still suspect were pointless. How could land that peasants never wanted be any good?

After Mao's death, after the fall of the Gang of Four and Deng's return, we were eventually able to come back to the cities and be rehabilitated. At that time I could have resumed my studies, found a comfortable niche in the government or in some cultural fields (I've always enjoyed dabbling with a brush). But since I had been turned into an agricultural and manual worker, I decided to remain a manual laborer. I had already spent too much time with my aspiring young intellectual comrades, and had heard too many idealistic discussions about China's future. Beneath their noble rhetoric about

"the people," I saw clearly that they would never be part of the people. They considered themselves distinct from them and felt they had a sacred mission to "save the country." Down deep, they were contemptuous of peasants and any poor people they associated with, even while claiming they wanted to free them from the clutches of the Party's evil bureaucrats.

Having spent my childhood in a port city, I wanted to see the world. I was still young—28 years old—and managed to get a job on a freighter.

That's when I started traveling around the vast, wide world. Chinese shipping companies manage to find cargo pretty much everywhere. Given the low wages of crew members, we have one of the world's most competitive fleets. We were super-exploited. But with the "opening up" of China, discipline on board was relaxed somewhat; the political commissars no longer made the rules as before, and as long as the captain returned home with well-filled pockets and his ship could turn a profit, they pretty much left us alone. Africa, the North Sea, Brazil. . . . The company accepted whatever was offered. The captain even took on extra cargo on the side, and justified his action by the profit he made. I sailed around like this for a good ten years.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Weren't you pretty much cut off from everything?

Mu Xidi: Yes and no. I kept abreast of what was going on. At sea, you have time to read. I bought newspapers just about everywhere. I read what was written about China. This is how I followed the events of the first democracy movement . . . and what happened to my brother Wei Jingshen.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Your brother?

Mu Xidi: I call him "brother" because, despite his origins, he is one of the rare individuals who hasn't acquired the usual defects of the intelligentsia. I'll have more to say about him later on. Then came the second democratic movement and the Tiananmen massacre. Our ship put into port at Hong Kong.

On board, we followed everything on television. Really, we had front row seats because the Hong Kong reporters managed to get ordinary people right in the thick of the riot to talk to them, and they showed images that few people anywhere in the world got to see, particularly people in China. I immediately got together with some buddies I could trust and we discussed what we could do. We decided that things were too dangerous in Hong Kong. The British would have turned us over to the Chinese authorities, as they've done so often.

We decided to wait until we anchored at a port farther away from China. A few days later we set out to sea again heading for Marseilles. We intended to raise a ruckus and then ask for asylum. But as the days went by, enthusiasm waned. I realized that some in the group were having second thoughts. I had to be careful. The atmosphere on board became oppressive. I had no desire to return to China with my feet bound in irons to be handed over to the police, so I decided to sneak away on my own. A stop in Marseilles gave me a chance to disembark on the sly and to get lost in the crowd. Then, because I had the address of someone to contact, I made my way to Catalonia. As an ex-Maoist with anarchist inclinations, I thought Barcelona would be a good place to end up. So I settled in here.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Do you plan to stay here?

Mu Xidi: Yes, unless there are major changes in China.

As for dissidence, it comes with a long history. It began with the Maoist regime and, in the so-called liberated zones, even earlier. I won't go as far back as the Jiangxi soviets,¹ as that would take too long. So, to simplify, I can say that from the time of the Hundred

Flowers,² there always were intellectuals ready to denounce quite explicitly the regime's defects and who were prepared to pay for it dearly as soon as the wind shifted.

We still don't know how many died in the camps as a result, or how many emerged from them destroyed after twenty years. Whenever the regime was in a crisis—at the beginning of the so-called Cultural Revolution, during Deng's power struggle with the Maoist fundamentalists, when Hu Yaobang died, when the students demonstrated against corruption—anyone educated enough to wield a brush seized the opportunity to cover walls with posters or to publish pamphlets against the tyrannical authorities.

Some of these texts, the more theoretical ones, are still well known. You're probably familiar with some of them: ones by Sheng-wu-lien like "Whither China?" the wall poster of the Li Yizhe group "On Democracy and Legality," Wei Jingsheng's "Democracy, the Fifth Modernization," Liu Qing's "J'accuse . . ." among others. Read them again.

Now, years later, looking back at them, what do you find? Even though these writers might have been very perceptive about the regime's totalitarian character which they attack, their criticism often only dealt with large principles and the various "rights" that the regime tramples on. Grievances of the "oppositionists" from the end of the 1970s were usually a lot more concrete about the day-to-day reality of oppression. With today's dissidents, ideology permeates almost everything. That's my major criticism of them. Basically, all of them are conversing with power, each in his own way. So that's why I don't call myself a dissident.

To summarize my complaints against the dissidents, I would say that they have three principal flaws: they are democrats, they are fascinated by the ruling class and they are patriots.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Can you elaborate?

Mu Xidi: All right. I'll start with their demand for democracy. There is no more ambiguous demand than this. In Chinese, democracy is *minzhu*, sovereignty of the people. In other words, a call for democracy is to say "Down with tyranny! Power to the people!" So far, so good. I have no problem with that. But this same word is used to denote the modern idea of democracy. Namely, the western-type parliamentary regime which, as everyone knows, couldn't care less about the people's sovereignty once the magic period of elections is over. And this is what they are also calling for.

Take for example, someone like Fang Lizhi.³ His model of development is that of the West. After a visit to Berlin when the Wall was still standing, he criticized the Chinese regime which he called "socialist," but he could find no better alternative than to compare East Berlin's economic failure with West Berlin's achievements.⁴ He, and people like him, want nothing more than to install in China regimes similar to the ones you have here. I don't deny that this would be an improvement. But for a worker, would this change very much? Do these dissidents really know what sort of life a Japanese, Korean or Taiwanese worker leads?

This democratic project of theirs is a double illusion. First, the democratic "happiness" you experience here in the West has numerous negative aspects, an emotional poverty they pretend not to see. Second, this relative happiness is possible only because Third World populations, the Chinese included, are kept in relative distress. The special economic zones are held up as examples of westernization because the workers there

are subject to competitive relationships, as in the West. Admittedly, these places exist so as to modernize China, but you can be sure it's on capitalist terms. But I maintain that modernization is their secondary function. Their principal role is to furnish western capitalism with an inexhaustible, docile and super-exploited work force. Do you realize that of those billions of running shoes and other footwear shipped to every corner of the planet that your kids are so crazy about, not a single one is made in the West? They all come out of the labor camps of Asia where, day in and day out, millions of young

peasants who are barely emerging from the Middle Ages and whose aspirations come from pre-industrial society? Democratic elections won't turn them into modern citizens overnight. If they don't deal with this question, it's because the only status they can conceive for peasants is as a servile workforce, an unlimited source of surplus value for their modernization projects. Their patriotism is just a pious sentiment. They want to "Save China!" so they themselves can prosper from the efforts of the toiling masses whom they expect to relegate to the fringes for a long time yet.

Of course, the idea of "saving China" is itself a trap.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Would you clarify that statement?

Mu Xidi: There's no possibility of saving China without saving all of humanity. Economically, China is so intertwined with the rest of the world that the future of one is necessarily linked to that of the other. Rebels in the 1920s were more clear-headed than their descendants in the 1990s. When Deng Xiaoping and his friends occupied the Chinese embassy in Paris to protest against terms of the Versailles treaty, they were making a direct connection between the decisions of the world's masters and the destiny of poor China which at the time was essentially an autarky. Today the country is an integrated spoke in the global capitalist machine and still they want to "Save China!"? Let it perish, their China! There's really only one among them who retained his honor. But at what a price!

Hsi Hsuan-wou: You're referring to Wei Jingsheng?

Mu Xidi: Yes, his "Warning to Western Proprietors" earned him a second sentence of 15 years in a prison camp. What's happening to him is terrible, but at least he put his finger on the nub of the matter: China is completely assimilated into the world economy. I am pleased to read this from the pen of a Chinese person.

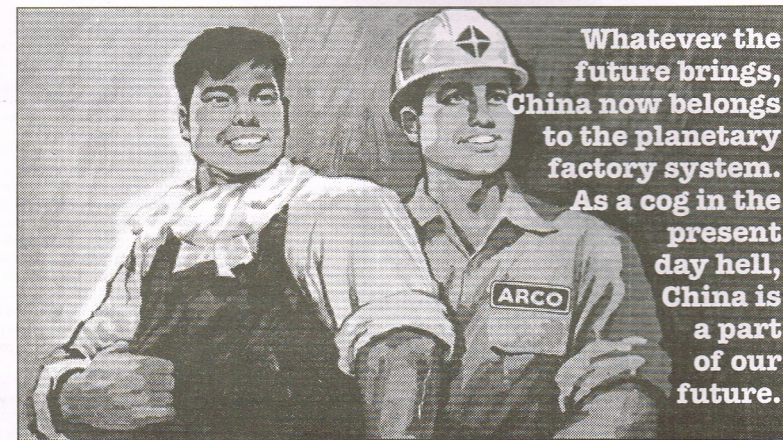
Of course, Wei calls for "a relatively equitable judicial system," "a society upheld by law," "a satisfying economic structure," and "democratic reform." He believes in the benefits of "investment" and "the market" as long as western capitalists deal with the right spokesmen, the democrats. Here, too, the same illusions about western happiness: the legal system, democracy, the economy! But at least he denounced the commercial dealings of the Chinese bureaucracy which is following in the same rut as its predecessors did between 1920-1940. At least he addressed his words to the world's real bosses, and makes it clear that China is tied to the world market. He's just one step away from saying that a revolutionary solution for China is inseparable from a more global, a world-wide, revolutionary solution.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: It's pretty hard to reproach him for failing to take that step. Don't forget that he spent more than fourteen years in a labor camp and that he was just sentenced to fifteen more. This may well reinforce his hostility to despotism, but these aren't ideal conditions for someone to stay informed about the state of the world.

Mu Xidi: Of course, and I certainly don't intend to reproach him. After fourteen years of *lao-kai*, to dare to write what he did shows exceptional moral courage.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: It does make you wonder why no one else has taken that crucial step. Do you have any explanation for this?

Mu Xidi: There are many reasons: thirty years of Maoist obscurantism; an economic boom which has



workers poison themselves with benzene so as to glue everything just right, assuming they don't perish in hideous fires! Really now, what sort of democracy are our dissidents talking about? Their democracy is a myth that can serve to arouse the Asian masses against the ruling tyrants, but to what end?

Hsi Hsuan-wou: I'll let you answer that.

Mu Xidi: Replace the tyrant Chaing Kai-shek with the democrat Li Denghui; the tyrant Marcos with the democrat Aquino; the tyrant Ne Win with the democrat Aung San Suu Kyi. One ruling class with another. Does anything change for the lowly gluer of Nike or Reebok tennis shoes who will die at 30 because of benzene-burned lungs?

Hsi Hsuan-wou: No, of course not.

Mu Xidi: This brings me to my second objection: they are fascinated by the ruling class. It's the same objection I had regarding my former "educated youth" buddies. Chinese dissidents belong to the intelligentsia and they can't conceive of themselves as other than part of the ruling class. Not the present one, of course. This one is too discredited after 30 years of terror and several massacres from which they also suffered, but they aspire to be the successors, the next generation, and already picture themselves in important posts where their talents will at last be recognized. Just look at how proud they are to be acquainted with certain enlightened bureaucrats who will listen to their humble suggestions, to their concrete proposals that could lead to reforms in the regime. Note how well they fathom the mysteries of the bureaucracy, how familiar they are with its warring clans, the names of hundreds of officials. They savor all leaks concerning the great scandals which are shaking up the regime; they rail against all the corrupt deals before participating in them themselves. Yes, they're really cut off from the population whose happiness they seek, from the China they hope to rescue from backwardness, from the "country" they want to "save!"

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Here you touch on a third complaint—their patriotism.

Mu Xidi: Precisely! Their motto is "Save China!" But do they have anything concrete to offer 800 million

slightly loosened the stranglehold of puritanical Stalinist morality and which permits a huge number of people to hope for rapid change. Critical thinking has been submerged by this tidal wave. And, as always, despite the country's "opening up," we Chinese rebels constantly close ourselves off, obsessed with our uniqueness that, for years and years, prevented our seeing things from the perspective of rebels from other places and reaching out to them. Basically, I am beginning to wonder if there's any hope of revolution in China any time soon.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Now you're raising a broader question.

Mu Xidi: That's right. It's not only in China that the crisis is intense. Nowhere has any challenge to the world order gone beyond an elementary stage. Can one really expect a country with the most archaic forms of domination in the world to show others the path to emancipation?

You have to understand how hard it is for intellectuals, children of mandarins and heirs to Confucian traditions, to conceive of a society without a State. When the bureaucrats complain about the current disruptions caused by introducing the market, the word they often employ is "anarchy," as if, whatever the excesses of the State, absence of the State is the absolute evil. The various "democratic" movements that, since 1979, have disrupted Chinese cities simply perpetuate the feudal tradition of submitting petitions to a ruler. Appalled by his abuses, the intellectuals humbly approach him to request that he please mend his ways.

Even if, in its final days, the colossal sit-in organized by the students in Tiananmen Square eventually encouraged the appearance of an authentic proletarian insurrection in other parts of the capital, it did not itself deviate from the tradition of respectful entreaty. Our rebels are prepared to give their lives in order to criticize their masters, but not to fundamentally question their authority.

Recall what happened to the two fervent iconoclasts who splattered the dead dictator's portrait with ink. They were immediately repudiated as outsiders to the movement and then were shamefully turned over to the police by Tiananmen's petty chieftains. Defending hooligans would risk the image they wanted to retain in the eyes of the authorities, that of worthy and responsible petitioners.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Even so, "anarchy" is not absent from China's history. Taoist philosophy's libertarian approach, cultivating non-action (*wu-wei*) as a superior principle, the refusal of constraints, searching for harmony with nature,³ all these could provide our dissidents with food for thought.

Mu Xidi: In the meantime, Chinese radicals don't have much to expect from today's dissident intellectuals. There will be reason for hope when some individuals from the mass of a billion Chinese proletarians discover and identify with our history's most vibrant periods: with the orgasmic egalitarian rebels from the end of both the Han and Ming Dynasties, and particularly with the momentous Taiping rebellion⁴ from which the Chinese have not yet drawn all the lessons.

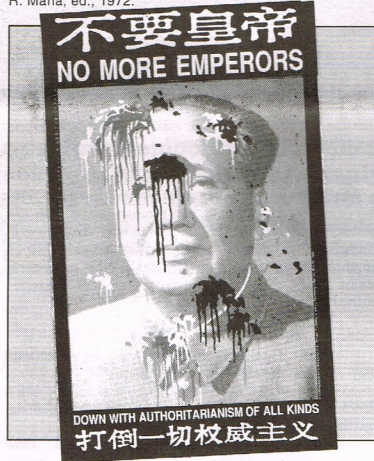
Taoism also gives evidence of dangers: revolutions that fail give birth to monsters. The emancipating Taoism which fed the revolt at the end of the Han Dynasty, became a religion with a celestial hierarchy that perfectly reflected the imperial ranking of mandarins; its priests did not hesitate to serve as counselors to the ruler. The same thing happened with the Taiping: their revolt was irresistible, their troops swept aside everything along the way as long as they championed a project for social liberation. Once they were no more than the military arm of a new State—a corrupt and totalitarian State—they collapsed, no match for the literate, neo-Confucian class, heirs to nearly a thousand years of authoritarian traditions.

Hsi Hsuan-wou: Don't you think Chinese revolutionaries ought to start by debunking the idea of "public good"? This confusing concept gives rise to dire consequences. *Wei guojia* means "for the country." The ambiguity stems from the term *guojia* itself which means both "country" and "State."

Mu Xidi: I agree. The dissidents are good at defying official prohibitions, and often do so with great courage when you consider the risks they run. The texts of "Shengwulian," of the trio Li Yizhe, of Wei Jingshen, each in its own way, pinpoint what's not right within the Chinese realm. When our dissidents start speaking about remedies, they become objectionable. From all pens, there flows one word: *democracy*. Whatever meaning they attribute to this term, liberalizing the existing regime by adding a touch of legality and nominal freedom, or installing a western parliamentary-style regime (multi-parties and elections), the dissidents are hard put to conceive of anything besides better leaders. In short, they are unable to envision an end to the State.

Footnotes

1. The first zones liberated by Communist guerrillas at the end of the 1920s.
2. The first opposition to the Stalinist regime which Mao initiated in 1956 and which was brutally repressed the following year.
3. The astrophysicist whom the media called "the Chinese Sakharov." An eclectic thinker, he wrote a variety of pamphlets in the 1980s which caused him to be excluded from the Party in 1986. Immediately following the Tiananmen Square massacre, he took refuge in the U.S. Embassy where he and his wife stayed for one year until they were both allowed to go into exile.
4. Fang Lizhi, *Bringing Down the Great Wall, Writing on Science, Culture and Democracy in China*, New York: Knopf, 1990.
5. Today, the belief in harmony between man and nature becomes frighteningly relevant as the economic gangrene is translated into the ravaging of natural resources and destructive pollution. Consider the pharaonic project of the Three Gorges Dam on the Yangtze River and the stupendous ecological catastrophe it promises. See: *Forum for a Better China*, No. 2.
6. See Jacques Reclus, *La Revolt des Taiping (1851-1864), Prologue de la Revolution chinoise*. Paris: Le Pavillon, R. Maria, ed., 1972.



The poster above was produced by a U.S. group to commemorate the May 23, 1989 incident mentioned by Mu Xidi in the above interview. Yu Zhijian, a school teacher, Yu Dongyue, a newspaper worker, and Lu Decheng, a bus company employee, threw ink and paint at a Big Brother-like portrait of Mao looming over Tiananmen Square. For their temerity, the three were sentenced to life, 20 and 16 years in prison respectively. Their fate is unknown to us at this time. The poster was reproduced in full-color on the back page of the Summer 1993 *Fifth Estate*. It may still be available from Friends of Wei Jingsheng, PO Box 40256, San Francisco CA 94140.

At the same time, we received a letter from the police state apologists in a small sectlet named Maoist International Movement inquiring if we were interested in a dialogue with them on the subject of anarchism. These very silly people sign articles in their newspapers with bylines composed of letters and numbers, e.g., MC17, probably standing for "Maoist Comrade;" the number used in a manner similar to that by Nation of Islam members. We wrote back informing them of our lack of interest in communicating with Stalinist authoritarians, and signed our letter, MC5, after the seminal Detroit hard rock band rock. We also enclosed a black and white xerox of the above poster.

In the next issue of their paper, they expressed horror that we had sent them a portrait of Mao with bullet holes dripping blood. The rock and roll analogy was lost on them.

FBI Still Stalling on EF! Bombing Case

SAN FRANCISCO—A federal magistrate ordered the FBI to provide further evidence to lawyers for the late Judi Bari and fellow Earth First! activist Darryl Cherney in their 7-1/2 year lawsuit against the FBI and Oakland Police Department.

On May 24, 1990, a bomb exploded beneath Judi Bari's car seat after she and Cherney, her passenger, had received death threats aimed at their political organizing in defense of the redwoods (see Summer 1990 FE). The FBI arrived on the scene in Oakland, California within minutes and declared that Bari and Cherney—two prominent nonviolent organizers of Earth First! "Redwood Summer"—were knowingly transporting the bomb that nearly killed them. The Oakland Police arrested the two within hours, but no charges were ever filed. Judi died of breast cancer in 1997.

Using a frequent delaying tactic, the Oakland city attorney filed an appeal of a district court decision denying the Oakland police "qualified immunity" from the suit. The appeal has already delayed for over a year the setting of a trial date, and the FBI's refusal to cooperate has compounded the effects.

The hearing on a motion to compel discovery also considered whether Bari and Cherney's legal team would be allowed to take the deposition of former FBI Director William Sessions. Both the FBI and the Oakland Police Department argued to delay discovery and depositions until Oakland's appeal is resolved.

Giving a verbal preview of his decision, the federal magistrate said that a number of depositions should be allowed, but would not allow a deposition of Sessions at this time. He stated that "there was an outline" of the needed proof that Sessions had personal knowledge of the events surrounding the Bari bombing, but that further justification would be required to allow his deposition. Further depositions may establish the necessary connections between Sessions and this case.

"Clearly, this is a victory," said Noelle Hanrahan, a supporter of the EF!ers. "We got the FBI and the Oakland Police Department back into court, and discovery will move forward." The FBI must allow depositions with FBI personnel, who will answer questions regarding the FBI's procedures and regulations about evidence and record keeping.

Bari and Cherney filed their federal civil rights lawsuit in 1991, charging the FBI and Oakland Police failed to conduct a legitimate investigation of the bombing, and instead used the assault on them as an excuse to conduct an illegal disinformation campaign intended to destroy Earth First! and their environmental organizing. They charge FBI conduct in this case shows the Bureau is still using COINTELPRO tactics, even though the covert action program targeting political dissent was supposedly terminated in the 1970s.

woodcut/Patrick Dengate



Wolf

the photograph of the wolf was taken from a helicopter while she was running for cover from the chop of the blades paw prints spread wide apart in the flat of snow stop before they reach the edge of the forest

Mick Vranich

by Allan Antliff

TORONTO—Accompanied by much fanfare and a bit of controversy, this Canadian city was the setting August 17-23 for its second international anarchist/anti-authoritarian gathering in a decade. The organizers titled the event, "Active Resistance," (AR), after the 1996 Chicago anarchist actions of the same name at the Democratic National Convention. (See Fall 1996 FE)

Approximately 700 people registered for a week of workshops, forums and demonstrations, but numerous other unregistered people swelled actions like a "Hands Off Street Youth" demonstration to nearly twice that number. An impromptu rally of 250 people in front of the US consulate followed Clinton's terrorist bombings in Sudan and Afghanistan and an all night camp-out, in solidarity with the Ontario Coalition Against Poverty, was held at a reactionary business establishment.

The 1980s saw similar gatherings in Chicago, Minneapolis, Toronto and San Francisco, and like those, this gathering was important for the person-to-person links that were established. Some denigrate this as mere socializing, but it is an important part of alliance-building.¹

Evening events included a rowdy night of films and talks on subjects such as "Indigenous Struggle in Chiapas," "Native Struggles and Spirituality," and "Political Prisoners/Prisoners of War." An Agit-Prop crew convened each night to put out a daily zine called *In the Streets*. This excellent initiative kept everyone abreast of changes in scheduling and provided a forum for people's concerns and ideas.

Artist Stefan Pilpa did a fantastic "Active Resistance '98" poster, and everyone was indebted to Jesse Hirsh and Tao communications for providing AR with its e-mail network.

A host of daily workshops were held, and four "Core" meetings ran each afternoon—"Building Revolutionary Movements," "Alternative Economics," "Community Organizing," and "Art and Revolution." Art and Revolution is where I hung my hat. Thirty people built giant puppets, painted banners, and planned theatre for the demonstration that was to cap the week. Early on, several street people came to a meeting and told us about the police brutality plaguing the homeless. After a short discussion, we decided to shape the Art and Revolution component around their stories.

Art and Revolution

Art and Revolution was born at the 1996 anarchist gathering in Chicago where a group of artists and performers from San Francisco invited people to join a week-long street theatre workshop which created masks, music, puppets, and theatre for a march on the Democratic Party convention site. Art gave that demonstration unprecedented coherence and energy, and afterwards the San Francisco group formed the Art and Revolution Convergence Collective, "dedicated to infusing radical social movements with art, theatre, and creativity."²

Anarchy in Toronto



The Radical Cheerleaders urge on demonstrators at a rally during the Toronto anarchist gathering at the U.S. Embassy following the American bombing raids on Sudan and Afghanistan.—photo/Susan Simensky Bietila

The anarchist movement reinvents and redefines itself at Toronto's second mass gathering in a decade.

They took their show, and their hallmark giant puppets, on the road to numerous protests during the next two years, and out of this grew a loose-knit federation. At the Toronto workshop, we enjoyed the benefit of experienced Art and Revolution folks from San Francisco, Olympia, and Boston.³

Art and Revolution's impact on the demonstration was dramatic. After an opening theatre piece spelling out the reasons for our protest, the police were confronted with an 1000-plus crowd marching down the streets behind a giant puppet whose out-stretched arms unveiled a banner declaring, "Hands off Street Youth!" Radical cheerleaders waved police-line pompons and chanted, demonstrators paro-

dying cops on horseback strutted around on stilts, banners and flags were raised, and a masked theatre contingent weaved through the procession while a drum crew pounded out rhythms. Babies waved from street cars and bystanders were drawn in by the joyful and boisterous atmosphere.

Celebration of Our Freedom

Art and Revolution not only reached out to spectators who might have perceived our march as a threat, it united us around a celebration of our freedom, rather than a confrontation with our oppressors. Demonstrations often end up focusing on the inevitable phalanx of heavily-armed riot police poised to attack, whose ugly presence dominates the proceedings. The

effect of the cops can be either chilling or fill people with hate and anger. Either way, the police police the minds of demonstrators and spectators alike with their ritualized surveillance-and-attack behaviour. The media end up reporting the event from the cops' perspective, marginalizing both the marchers and whatever issue they attempt to bring to public attention.

This time around we set the agenda, creating a free space for protest that was not only serious, but also fun and inclusive, rather than exclusionary and threatening. Parents with children, people in wheel-chairs, and older folk could join our march in safety, but that didn't stop the "illegalities." You could sense the cops' confusion as we squatted the streets, stopped traffic for chants and fired-up anti-cop/anti-poverty speeches at major intersections, and occupied the front of a downtown precinct station where we presented a second demonstrative theatre protest against police attacks on street people. Sidelined in overheated riot gear, the cops' authority wheezed out like stale air from a pricked balloon.

Although elation often characterized the week, the gathering was not without problems.

Anarchist organizer, Lorenzo Ervin, a former Black Panther party member, whose trip north was sponsored by the AR organizers, complained during one session that the gathering was a social event for "white middle-class punks." Applying the classification "middle-class" to AR radicals, the vast majority of whom survive (as I do) on annual incomes under \$8,000, strikes me as a misnomer, to put it politely.

Though the majority of participants were of European origin, that did not exclude people who weren't, as the special effort to include Ervin evidences. The

people at AR were interested in an expanding anarchist movement. No less than ten workshops were convened either by people not of European descent or to specifically further solidarity with and understanding of people of color.⁴ In short, AR was neither "white," "middle-class," nor "punk" (whatever that string of categories means).

The only other problems were organizational. AR happened thanks to a lot of hard work by a large group of committed radicals, and they deserve praise for their efforts. It seems, however, that AR's organizing committee over-shot the mark with projected expenses by a considerable margin.

Left-over funds were distributed by the committee to the next anarchist gathering's organizers, financing a post-AR zine, and the rest split among local Toronto activist groups. That's fine and fair, but when I plunked down the \$35 registration fee, I assumed it was going towards feeding those from out of town and expenses for the actual event, not post-gathering donations.⁵

A second glitch involved day-to-day procedures. A daily plenary session was supposed to convene where concerns could be hashed out, but they never happened. This was a major oversight, as at least one

important issue was not properly dealt with in a democratic fashion until the end of the gathering. Everyone, myself included, let the organizers down. Failure to hold the daily plenary should have been addressed the first day it didn't occur rather than left until the last moment and after some misunderstandings had built up.

That said, Active Resistance was a great success. Everyone hoped the event would reinvigorate the regional anarchist scene and I'm glad to say it has. In Toronto, a new Earth First! group has been formed, an Anarchist Free School launched, Who's Emma bookstore is sponsoring a Radical Film night, and other projects are pending. Similar activities are springing up elsewhere, as well. Enthusiasm for another gathering is high, but a city and date haven't been established as of this writing.

NOTES:

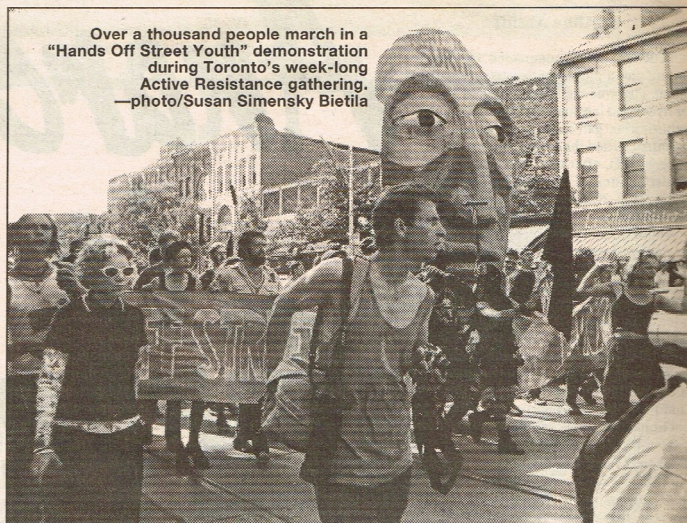
1) For instance, I will be doing a speaking tour in Quebec this fall thanks to connections forged at AR.

2) This overview is taken from an Art and Revolution Convergence Collective pamphlet, *The Incomplete, True, Authentic, and Wonderful History of May Day*, issued on the occasion of San Francisco's "Reclaim May Day" demonstration of May 2, 1998.

3) The Art and Revolution Convergence Collective can be contacted at fire@lyc.org.

4) Among them were "Native Solidarity;" "Cultural Genocide: First Nations Considerations for All Movements;" "Stopping the War on Refugees and Immigrants in Canada;" "Chiapas Solidarity Caucus;" "Human Rights Observing in Mexico;" "International Solidarity and Division of Indigenous People;" and "Black Liberation Radio." Canada's French/English conflict was also informally discussed, though the significance of this particular divide escapes Ervin, as it does many radicals from the US.

5) Hopefully, the post-AR magazine will feature a breakdown of how the funds were divided up.



Over a thousand people march in a "Hands Off Street Youth" demonstration during Toronto's week-long Active Resistance gathering. —photo/Susan Simensky Bietila

Love & Rage Implodes

Talk about going out, not with bang, but a whimper. Love & Rage, the failed attempt at a continental anarchist federation, formally imploded earlier this year. So insignificant was their demise that we were unable to find out any of the sordid details surrounding the final collapse. (See note at bottom rt.)

We do know that a faction led by L&R chief bureaucrat, Chris Day, has ditched anarchism for a more general leftist approach and has begun a new organization. Why is it that he and his cohorts only picked up the worst ideas about splits and factions from their original partners in L&R, the Revolutionary Socialist League? To be fair, it is ironic that ex-RSL members are the ones keeping true to anarchism, while the former anarchists have turned to organizational leftism. Now, they can have all alliances they choose with authoritarians like the RCP without having to suffer the barbs of their libertarian critics.

Drawn to Leftist Sects

L&R undoubtedly turned some people on to anarchy and mobilized them around issues they otherwise might not have participated in, but the experience of party/organizational life is usually more than the anarchistically minded can bear. The edifice always seems attractive—a newspaper, platforms, statements, campaigns, conferences—and initially these recruit people in the manner they are drawn to leftist sects.

But a bureaucracy, even an ostensibly anarchist one, made up of an alphabet soup of initials known only to the insiders—ECs, EGs, CCs, DBs, ad nauseam—with very little to show for it in the real world, usually makes membership a revolving door no less

so than in leftist groups. Most people outside the L&R mechanism saw it as little else than a neo-leftist grouplet, moving, as many in it now have, toward leninism.

But even some of the ex-RSL anarchists haven't learned their lesson through the dismal L&R experience. A group in Detroit is calling for a new federation, which, to paraphrase Marx, will be a case of first time tragedy, second time tragedy. The finale of this federation is no different than those that have preceded it; the ones after it will meet the same fate.

Empty federations squabbling

An empty federation squabbling about resolutions and statements of principles before finally collapsing, does little to advance construction of a coherent anarchist movement and probably much harm it. Numerous national campaigns are run effectively without a national federation and don't function in the manner of L&R which often made people feel you were either in the gang or an outsider. Most of us were not, as evidenced by the consistently tiny turnout at L&R national conferences contrasted to the massive international gathering which took place in Toronto in August and in other North American cities during the 1980s.

As incoherent as these large gatherings may seem to the organization-minded, they serve to inform people about other projects and ideas, linking them together, and maybe most importantly, giving the thousands in attendance the distinct sense that there is a significant movement in North America. These events are essentially a federation with no office, no bureaucracy, no factions, no meetings—anarchy is what I think it's called.



Active Resistance demonstrators at Toronto's U.S. embassy protesting Clinton's bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan. —photo/Susan Simensky Bietila

Detroit has its Trumbull Theatre, Fifth Estate, Anti-Racist Action, Food Not Bombs, Zapatista support and numerous other projects and responses to crises that we activate without centralized national coordination. Usually, if we need anything, it's local coordination.

Not With Leninist Schemes

It is instructive that since the demise of L&R nothing much has changed either in the movement and certainly not in the real world. People continue a variety of projects unique to their locale. This is the way our movement will be built. Not with leninist schemes that have always failed the authoritarian left, and are even less appropriate for those who believe in freedom as a means as much as a goal.—Peter Werbe

*Note on Love & Rage:

A dreary, final issue of the federation's newspaper dated Fall 1998 reached us after the article to the left was written. The faction shedding anarchism presents its version of the breakup in disturbingly leftist terms. Issues are available from POB 853, Stuy. Sta., New York NY 10009.

Undaunted by their experience, the ex-L&Rers are creating a new organization which "will be more consistent in making sure its members live up to expectations of membership that are appropriate to a serious revolutionary organization." They also say they "have deliberately chosen not to identify as an anarchist organization."

If you read our articles on Love & Rage over the years, this has to be one of the major cases of "we told you so." Why don't they just join the Spartacist League? They'd have a little authoritarian gang and bureaucracy already in place.

The other side has also published its version of events and, similarly undaunted, calls for a "Fresh Revolutionary Anarchist Group." Contact them at L&R, POB 24952, Detroit MI 48224 for their position paper.*

About our back page

Freddie Baer's chilling collage and an earlier version of David Watson's poem, "Khafji," appeared in *Ecstatic Incisions*, a collection of Freddie's collages from numerous publications including this one. It is available for \$12 from AK Press, PO Box 40682, San Francisco CA 94140; 415-864-0892; www.akpress.org. The 1999 AK catalog of books, CDs and posters is available from them as well.

Attention Prisoners

The FE is expensive to produce and mail. Even if you requested a sample copy, if this is the first issue of the paper we've sent you, you will not automatically be put on our free subscription list unless you write back to tell us you want to keep receiving it.



Guy Debord—*Revolutionary*, Len Bracken, Feral House, Venice, Calif., 1997, 267 pp.

by Allan Antliff

This book has much to offer. One of its stated purposes is to make the life and writings of Debord accessible and I am happy to report that in this, Bracken has succeeded.

Debord makes for daunting reading, and those who aren't versed in the dialectical underpinnings structuring his prose or the historical events that run parallel to situationist interventions can quickly get swamped. The greatest strength of *Guy Debord—Revolutionary* is its attention to precisely these problems.

Moving chronologically through the life of his subject, Bracken periodically gives us a synchronic exegesis of the historical events informing Debord's thoughts and actions, leading one friend of mine to remark that, thanks to Len Bracken, she'd finally been able to "situate the situationists." Furthermore, Bracken does his best to outline, in a clear, succinct manner, the critical theory informing the practice—how the ideas that make up Debord's thought evolved, his original contributions to the Situationist International (SI), and, most importantly, his conviction that critique had a vital function in the making of history.

This last emphasis ensures that, in marked contrast to other recent synopses, the revolutionary essence of Debord's life and activism remains front and center throughout. In this respect, Bracken's treatment is a welcome respite from the bizarre spectacle of the Situationists being transformed into cozy commodifiable "anti"-artists in the MIT press's pseudo-radical Winter 1997 *October* art review or a gaggle of lit-crit academics competing to reduce Debord's legacy to stylistic nostrums, à la Derrida, in tomes such as *Pour Guy Debord* (Gallimard, Paris, 1996), where, in the wake of Debord's death, "All that remains is literature" (and so on, ad nauseam).

The prickly question of Debord's Marxism is also cleared up in convincing fashion. Bracken underlines that Debord was, first and foremost, a revisionist who embraced Marx's Hegelian methodology of

The Life of Guy Debord: A History

A biography of a founder of the Situationist International whose conviction that critique had a vital function in the making of history came to bear in the streets of Paris in 1968.

critique but rejected his privileging of labor as the formative force in society in favor of a revolution of desires and freedom from work.

More should have been said about the anarchist origins of this latter paradigm. In fact, Bracken's discussion of anarchism's relevance for the radical milieu of Debord's era is generally inadequate, but to be fair to him, this is a largely buried history. I should add, however, that Bracken's inattention to anarchism may account for the absence of a cogent critique of Debord's Marxist-Leninist organizational style, in which the SI functioned as a vanguard party of the proletariat and Debord as its ultra-vanguard leader.

Prior to the SI's dissolution in 1972, Debord, in his capacity as Keeper of the One and Only True Faith, crippled the International by subjecting potential members to ritualistic examinations and excommunications that mimed Marx, Lenin, Stalin, and the Pope all rolled into one.

On this score, it is worth remembering Fredy Perlman's rejoinder to the sycophantic antics of two American activists who sought to join the Paris wing of the SI in 1969. Roger Gregoire and Linda Lanphear each wrote a series of letters to Perlman which they simultaneously submitted to the SI in an effort to "prove themselves worthy." Groveling renunciations of all past collaborations with "non-revolutionary elements" in one of these letters drew this response from Perlman:

"Dear Aparatchki,

Your recent letters would have meant much more if a carbon of one and the original of the other had not been sent to a functionary of the Situationist International as part of an application for membership. The logic of your arguments would be impressive if it had not been designed to demonstrate your orthodoxy in Situationist doctrine.

"The sincerity of your 'rupture with Fredy Perlman and Black and Red' [Detroit's radical publishing co-op] would be refreshing if it had not been calculated to please a Priest of a Church which demands dehumanizing confessions as a condition for adherence.

"You're a toady. The odor is made more unpleasant by the fact that you chose

to approach the Situationist International precisely in its period of great purges (Kayati, Chasse, Elwell, Vaneigem, Etc.)."

Perlman went on to observe that the SI was functioning like a full-fledged Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist "organization of professional specialists in 'revolution,'" complete with the "intimidations, insults, confessions, [and] purges which are necessary to keep the Coherence coherent." (The letter is quoted in Lorraine Perlman's *Having Little, Being Much: A Chronicle of Fredy Perlman's Fifty Years.*)

Thumbing their collective noses at this state of affairs, Black and Red's first English-language printing of the *Society of the Spectacle* illustrated the section where Debord denounced self-appointed centralized decision making with a group photo of the situationists.

Bracken would have done considerable service to his readers by exploring controversies such as this, in which Debord's theoretical megalomania transformed him from a libertarian revolutionary to an authoritarian saboteur, standing in the way of change for the sake of institutionalization.

Instead, towards the end of his book Bracken offers up this defence: "Given the dismay he [Debord] elicited with his exclusions and harsh judgements, it's worth remembering that his high standards of conduct were the basis for his reproaches of others, even if these reproaches strike the bourgeois observer as

being less than honorable."

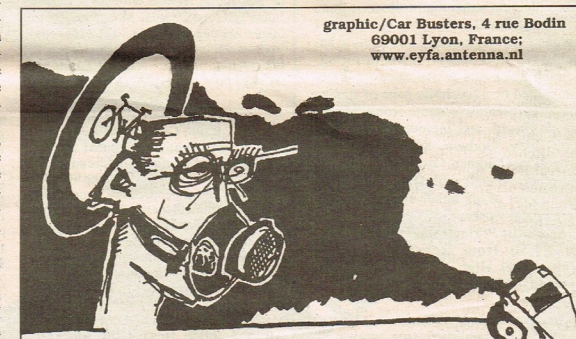
Bracken's claim that all critics are "bourgeois" is not only itself "less than honorable," it isn't up to scratch analytically. This is all the more surprising in light of his manifest theoretical abilities, which are amply displayed in his discussion of Debord's analysis of time and history and his searing critique of Greil Marcus's misreading of the same in *Lipstick Traces*.

Other issues—notably the glaring matter of Debord's sexism—are also glossed over. Bracken's discussion of Debord's film, *Society of the Spectacle*, for example, deals with the presentation of Debord's lover, Alice Becker-Ho, this way:

"Alice prances around the bedroom in the nude, posing and smiling for her Guy. Debord would later remark that a critic was totally erroneous in his critique of the film except in his observation that Alice was ravishing."

Its as if, in an effort to assert Debord's revolutionary credentials, Bracken suspended his critical voice in favor of slavish prostration before a Legend—and the book is far worse for it.

On the balance, however, I recommend *Guy Debord—Revolutionary* despite such shortcomings. Bracken's analysis is rich, his evaluations for the most part are subtle and intelligent, and his earnest commitment to the revolutionary agenda of Debord is refreshingly honest.



graphic/Car Busters, 4 rue Bodin 69001 Lyon, France; www.eyfa.antenna.nl

Bicycles and the Spirit Wheels On Fire

Under the Sign of the Bicycle, by Alon K. Raab (Portland: Gilgul Press), 31 pages, \$3 from the Community Cycling Center, 2407 NE Alberta, Portland OR 97211.

by David Watson

"When I look at childhood," begins Robert Bly in a poem in his stunning recent collection, *Morning Poems*,

*I see the yellow rosebush
Grandma planted near her door, the
grave!
Beneath the bicycle tires, and the new
legs pumping
As we raced along...*

("A Farm in Minnesota")

FE contributor Alon K. Raab's small book captures that same sense of dreamy innocence and vigor so recognizable to many of us—our flying off to obscure adventures on our first bicycle.

Under the Sign of the Bicycle is playfully and beautifully designed, somehow both lavish and simple in its collection of bicycle graphics and type. In the first meditation on this by now almost archetypal relationship, "Bicycle Music," he writes, "In the beginning was the bicycle wheel, and it went swish, swish, swish..." The bicycle wheel and the bicycle achieve mythic significance as Raab ponders his "love for bicycles and their generosity" in return.

Simple and profound bicycle stories
Continued on page 22



Fifth Estate Books

New Titles

ESCAPE FROM THE 19TH CENTURY
by Peter Lamborn Wilson

If to know "History" as tragedy is to escape its repetition as farce, then perhaps we need to look more deeply at this Past that won't stop haunting us. Fourier, Nietzsche, Marx and Proudhon are enlisted in the break-out plan. "Wilson really does turn the world upside down." —Christopher Hill
Autonomedia 205 pages \$12

ANARCHIST PORTRAITS
by Paul Avrich

A stirring biography of many known (and unknown) anarchists in Europe, U.S., Russia, Brazil and beyond. A landmark of a book by American anarchism's most prominent historian, tearing through time and space with incisive vision. Includes biggies like Bakunin, but also profiles the likes of J.W. Fleming. A must read for all those who want a sense of anarchist history.
Princeton Paperbacks 316pp. \$19

DISPATCH DETROIT 1 & 2

A new, perfect bound, handsomely laid out and illustrated Detroit poetry magazine. Issue #1 features poetry by FE staff member Marilyn Rashid and FE contributors Mick Vranich and Ken Mikolowski; also Glen Mannisto, Lolita Hernandez and others. #2 features poems by FE staff member David Watson, as well as work by Bill Harris, Tyrone Williams, Chris and Julian Tysh, and Christine Monhollen's lyrical tribute and threnody to Paul Schwarz, whose work on #2, including the cover art, was his final project.
Doorjamb Press \$10 each issue

ALL THINGS CENSORED
Radio Commentaries
by Mumia Abu-Jamal

A CD with text originally produced in 1994 for All Things Considered, but the liberals at NPR crumbled under pressure from the cops and politicians and these powerful messages from Death Row were never aired. When you hear the message Mumia brings in these three-minute epistolaries on American justice and culture, you know why the forces of authority are so anxious to kill him. Also, comments by Alice Walker, Cornel West, Martin Sheen, William Kunstler, Ramona Africa, Judi Bari, Howard Zinn and others.
Prison Radio/Quixote \$10

GOD AND THE STATE
by Mikhail Bakunin

Classic anarchist text with introduction by anarchist historian Paul Avrich; from Emma Goldman's 1916 Mother Earth edition.
Dover 89pp. \$6.00

A PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

1492-PRESENT, by Howard Zinn
Zinn's text has sold an astounding 500,000 copies. This newly revised and updated edition is current through the Gulf War and the Clinton administration. "Zinn has written a



AGAINST THE MEGAMACHINE: ESSAYS ON EMPIRE & ITS ENEMIES
by David Watson

The long-promised collection of essays by FE collaborator David Watson has finally arrived. Many of the essays, dating from 1981 to 1996, have been substantially revised, and some have never appeared in the FE. Most of the key themes covered in this paper—mass technics, the ecological crisis, the critique of civilization, reason and spirit, war and empire—are represented, including "Stopping the Industrial Hydra," "Civilization in Bulk," "Looking Back on the Vietnam War," "Homage to Fredy Perlman," a completely revised "Against the Megamachine," and many more. In his introduction

to the book, Richard Drinnon praises "Watson's goal of an anarchism shorn of progressivism and reunited with the forgotten lore that was 'anarchist' eons before the term was coined"—an attempt "to have us look at the world with our eyes wide open." "David Watson is one of the handful of thinkers who have managed to address technology in all its dimensions . . . and only through works like this will we understand the subject well enough to act." —Jerry Mander "Lucid, caring, visionary, David Watson's voice defies a decade of cyberpunk noise." —Ariel Salleh
Autonomedia 334 pages \$14

Also by David Watson

BEYOND BOOKCHIN:
Preface for a Future Social Ecology
by David Watson

Besides providing a thorough critique of Murray Bookchin's narrow version of social ecology, this wide-ranging essay explores new paths of thinking about the prospects for a radical ecological and anti-imperial politics. . . . Serious revolutionaries should read it. —Murray Bookchin, "Whither Anarchism?" "A brilliant, carefully argued critique. . . ." —John Clark
Autonomedia/B&R 256 pages \$8

HOW DEEP IS DEEP ECOLOGY?
With an Essay-Review on Woman's Freedom
by David Watson

Written under the pen-name George Bradford, this influential essay, which first appeared in the Fall 1987 *Fifth Estate*, critiques some of the assumptions and politics of deep ecologists and Earth First! activists at that time. Though EFL has evolved considerably since then, this small book remains a useful guide to important themes in ecological politics. Price also includes FE issue #331 containing Watson's essay, "Return of the Son of Deep Ecology," an answer to his critics.
Times Change Press 86pp. \$5.50

MARXISM, FREEDOM, AND THE STATE

by Michael Bakunin

In the more than a century since these passages were written, the worship of the state has become a religion over the globe. We have seen in practice the fulfillment of Bakunin's gloomy forebodings on the destination of Marxist Socialism.
Freedom Press 63pp \$3.75

CHUMBAWAMBA / NOAM CHOMSKY

For A Free Humanity: For Anarchy

A double CD featuring the now-famous pop band from Leeds on disc 1. "Showbusiness" was recorded live in 1994 and contains their best pre-"Tubthumping" anarchist material. Previously available only as a limited edition expensive import. Disk 2 is a Chomsky lecture—"Capital Rules"—a portrait of a two-tier society with islands of wealth in a sea of poverty. A 24-page booklet is included with extensive interviews with Chomsky and the band.
AK Press Double CD & Booklet \$18

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HOW TO ORDER BY MAIL

1) List the title of the book, quantity, and the price of each; 2) add 10% for mailing costs—not less than \$1.24 U.S. or \$1.60 foreign (minimum for 4th class book rate postage); 3) total; 4) write check or money order to: **Fifth Estate**; 5) mail to: **Fifth Estate**, 4632 Second Ave., Detroit MI 48201 USA. Phone 313/831-6800 for hours and more information.

In his foreword to Clifford Harper's *Designs for Anarchist Postage Stamps: Postage Stamps for After the Revolution*, Colin Ward reminds us that some public institutions are worth saving. No radical activist could deny the immense importance of sending and receiving mail, and what this international, public institution has meant to us. Indeed, one of Kropotkin's examples of admirable, large-scale, essentially non-authoritarian communal activities, Ward points out, was the international postal service. Ward wisely remembers to mention as well the contrasting highly authoritarian structures of the Post Office (which in this country have contributed in their own perverse way to generating such vivid slang as the phrase "to go postal").

As someone who has always appreciated stamps, adorning my blank book journals with them rather than collecting them in any systematic way, I found Clifford Harper's striking postage stamp-style anarchist portraits delightful and inspiring.

Each black and white woodcut is accompanied by a facsimile page of stamps and a representative quote from the person portrayed, and includes portraits of Winstanley, Godwin, Stirner, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Goldman, Oscar Wilde, Zapata and others. It ends with Harper's appealing memoir of his father and uncle, who were postal workers.

Anarchist Postage Stamps is available for £4.50 from Rebel Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1, England.—David Watson

Étcetera: Correspondencia de la Guerra Social has published issue number 30, containing articles on the 1997 Spanish "labor reform," the art of photographer Kati Horna (whose documentation of the Spanish Revolution and Civil War has finally begun to attract the attention it deserves. In addition, the issue contains an original and scathing demystification of the famed "Generation of 98" (which included celebrated members of the Western Canon such as the existentialist Unamuno, Angel Ganivet, Azorín and others).

The defeat in the 1898 war with the U.S. divested the Spanish empire of its last few overseas possessions apart from the African colonies, and thus its former imperial "glory," and initiated a famous meditation by its leading intellectual lights on the meaning of the national decline, and on the theme of Spanish identity—the so-called *preocupación por España*.

The authors don't take this *preocupación* terribly seriously, pointing out that the "enlightened" project of Spanish regeneration was being carried out more profoundly by an increasingly radi-

Continued on page 21

Back In Stock

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST

by Alexander Berkman

"Berkman's fourteen years in prison turned him into a man of exceptional maturity and wisdom and his memoirs are the record of the reformation of a personality in a way quite the opposite to that intended by the prison system. However, the book is considerably more than that. It is by far the most honest story of prison life written up to its time."—Kenneth Rexroth
Frontier Press \$38pp \$13

THE MACHINE AGAINST THE GARDEN by Fredy Perlman

Written a few months before his death for the Fall 1985 *Fifth Estate*, this is Fredy's angry reply to an essay by literary academician Leo Marx. Fredy vehemently objects to Marx's attempts to turn critics of American society into its celebrants, specifically, Nathaniel Hawthorne. In Fredy's introduction to these two essays, he insists that "Melville, Hawthorne and Thoreau were profound critics of the technological society." Edited with an introduction by John Moore.
Aporia Press 28pp \$6

SACO AND VANZETTI: The Anarchist Background Paul Avrich

Actually less about the oft-told story of the frame-up of Sacco and Vanzetti, and more about the vibrant revolutionary context in which they lived. Avrich brings alive the rich, day-to-day activities of an immigrant rebel community whose struggles on the job and in the streets had a multi-layered political and cultural dimension to it. A wide-spread bomb plot resides easily next to radical theater and publications. A model of how an ideal motivated a whole community—young and old, children and parents—to work for a new society.
Princeton University 265pp. \$15

OBJECTIVITY & LIBERAL SCHOLARSHIP by Noam Chomsky

Introduction by Peter Werbe

Taken from Chomsky's 1969 *American Power and the New Mandarins*, this thin volume exposes his colleagues' cooperation with the imperial slaughter in Southeast Asia. Written while the Vietnam war was raging, he demonstrates how the same ideology distorts the work of scholars who analyzed earlier conflicts. His critique of historians of the Spanish Revolution and Civil War includes a stirring account of the anarchist participation which is either ignored or falsified by liberals and stalinists alike. This is the best short history of the Spanish anarchists' triumphs and defeats.
Black & Red 142pp \$6

NEW PERIODICALS

LIVE WILD OR DIE #7

32-pages of wilderness anarchy too radical for the *Earth First Journal*! News, raves, poetry. Graphic heavy pages. No computers used in production. Available from us or at Box 204, 2425-B Channing Way, Berkeley CA 94704.
LWOD \$3

MINUS TIDES: FOR THOSE ON THE SIDE OF LIFE (Winter 1997-98 issue)

A Canadian radical journal full of essays, short stories, poetry, reviews, art and a book catalogue. Also contains a pamphlet/insert, "First People's Spirituality and the Marketplace, excerpts from Ward Churchill's *Fantasies of the Master Race*."
Magazine format \$3

For a complete list of available FE issues, request it with your book order, or send an SASE.

NEWS & REVIEWS

Continued from page 20

cal and combative working class (promoting literacy, secularism, cultural expansion, free thought) than by the well-intentioned literary and philosophical *regeneracionistas*, whose conflation of "an ineffable Spanish 'being'" rooted in the Castilian landscape and a rich literary and cultural history, tended to be colonized and reduced to banalities that could be exploited not only by academics but by the literate caste of Spanish fascism. An anthology of texts from the Spanish revolutionary press in the years 1872-1910 follows this mordant critique.

Etcétera has also published, in cooperation with Al Margen and Ateneu Llibertari "Poble Sec," the first Spanish translation of Fredy Perlman's essay, *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism (El persistente atractivo del nacionalismo)*, with a biographical essay on Perlman by FE staff writer David Watson.

Etcétera and its other publications are free (though donations for postage and expenses are welcome and probably needed) from Apartado 163, 08080 Barcelona, Spain.—Coatimundi

Here and Now is original and thought-provoking. Number 18 includes Peter Porcupine's considerations on "why birds have so much fun" as an investigation into the follies of utilitarian biology; Mike Peters' "Critique of Instrumental Emotion," which comments on the current fad of so-called "emotional literacy"; and a discussion of dying and the forces presently undermining the original impulses that generated the valuable hospice movement. There are also reviews, exchanges and more. Subs are £4/3 issues in the U.K., £7.50/3 issues (Europe) £8.50/3 issues (elsewhere). Contact them at P.O. Box 109, Leeds, West Yorkshire, LS5 3AA UK.—DW

Mesechabe: The Journal of

Profane Existence publishes last issue Crisis in the Anarchist Press?

We received word in mid-October that Minneapolis' *Profane Existence* magazine was printing its last issue. The collective also announced cessation of their wholesale and mail order distribution, and record production operations.

Besides noting some financial difficulties, this prolific group, cited being "overwhelmed," "we have no personal lives," and "the pay sucks." In other words, terminal burn-out after a decade of what they define as "a very all-consuming undertaking."

The *PE* project, with its zine's front page boast of "Making Punk A Threat Again," (again?) and their hardcore lifestyle probably would put them in Murray Bookchin's hottest section of Hell, but as much as we had political disagreements with them, they were the core of their city's anarchist activism.

Ultimately, as many of the youthful participants grew older, had families, and in some cases, the heavy drinking and partying punk scene took its toll, it was just too much to maintain by a committed but small group.

Surre(gion)alism number 17 is a special issue, featuring poet Anselm Hollo's "Some Notes and Quotes from the 'Different Homeland,'" which explores the twisting labyrinth and subsequent mysteries and nightmares of what some call "national origin." Dennis Formento's "Ecologisms: 50 Epigrams of Surre(gion)alism" comments, "Politics is an obsession with everybody's worst nature. And everybody's worst nature is troubling my sleep." Poems and essays also by Jack Collom, A. di Michele, Charles Henri Ford, Biljana Obradovic, Ronnie Burk and many others, as well as an interview with Eluard Burt remembering Beat poet Bob Kaufman. Always worthwhile, *Mesechabe* is \$20/5 issues from 1539 Crete Street, New Orleans LA 70119-3006.—DW

John K. Grande, *Balance: Art and Nature*, Black Rose Books, 1994, Montreal, 250 pp. and *Intertwining: Landscape, Technology, Issues*, Artists, Black Rose Books, 1998, Montreal, 182 pp.

Recently, while speaking on anarchism in Montreal, I met John Grande. I was delighted to discover he is a committed anarchist art critic who combines an ecological orientation with incisive critiques of art-for-the-capitalist-status-quo. *Balance* and *Intertwining* bring together essays from disparate publications, many discussing unknown artists. John seeks out those who are activists and environmentalists and, through them, explores myriad strategies for integrating art with resistance against megamachine.

Highly recommended; but given the publisher, steal them if you can.—Allan Antliff

Culture Battles: The Meaning of the Vietnam-USA War, Peter McGregor, Visions of Freedom, P.O. Box 13, Enmore, 1042 Australia, 214 pp., \$15 postpaid.

In these essays, written about the bitter military and ideological conflict in which Australia was an U.S. ally, McGregor equates the struggle against power with

the struggle of memory against forgetting. His experiences as a draft-age resister give him a unique perspective on the period and how history of the war is currently being defined.

The domino theory of communist encroachment was exalted as a principle of U.S. state diplomacy and served as the ideological foundation for U.S. intervention.

Robert McNamara, U.S. Secretary of Defense, is unhappy with his reputation as perpetrator of the Vietnam War, but McGregor doesn't let him squirm out of his reprehensible role. Many of his villainous actions are noted. The book provides a fascinating excerpt from *The Living and The Dead*, a book by U.S. journalist, P. Hendrickson, who recounts the episode of a U.S. anti-war activist coming close to assassinating McNamara.

The chapter, "Lest We Forget," compares losses of the belligerent parties. Five hundred Australians, 58,000 Americans, and between 1-1/2 and 3 million Vietnamese lost their lives (and this doesn't include Laotians or Cambodians). "While the authorities in the USA and Australia have been reluctant to acknowledge the effects of Agent Orange et al on their own troops, the Viet authorities have been leaders in researching the effects of chemical warfare."

In material terms too, losses were drastically uneven. The U.S. has not yet paid Vietnam the \$3.25 billion in reparations to which it agreed at the 1973 Paris Peace

Continued on page 22



lar projects in their area, and combats the feeling of powerlessness and atomization the dominant culture attempts to foist on us.

Besides publishing, assisting existing papers through contributions of money and articles insures their/survival. In Detroit, we frequently hosted pot luck suppers to fund raise for papers across the world, in the tradition of the older Italian comrades we were privileged to know at the end of their lives.

Just as we are buoyed when we receive a contribution from Australia or down the block, we knew that when we sent \$50 to a paper in Scotland, that act of mutual aid would encourage the comrades there beyond just the material support.

Anarchism is the sole remaining opposition to capitalism and the state; all others have been exposed as police state frauds or tepid and meek reformers. It's up to us to maintain and pass on the ideas of freedom that so many people in our movement before us have lived and died for.

—Peter Werbe

Bicycles and the Spirit

Continued from page 19

follow—of riding with his young daughter, and as a child himself riding with a friend to school in a small village on the Mediterranean, and suddenly running across a Bedouin shepherd and his flock. Raab meditates on the history of dispossession, imperial conquest and ecological destruction while riding on Savie Island near Portland, and elsewhere wonders about drivers of the cars that speed by, forcing him off the road.

"Their vehicles evoke in me, not the mass advertised images of ease and freedom," he writes, "but instead mobile coffins, as they head toward those cemeteries called parking lots." He is reminded of Alfred Jarry, author of the proto-dada, absurdist classic, *Ubu Roi*, apparently a "passionate bicyclist, who rode around turn of the century Paris, with two revolvers in his belt and a carbine across his chest." According to Raab, "Jarry used to fire into the air to warn of his coming"—quite a contrast with the contemporary custom of blowing a whistle when approaching an intersection (even as one suspects the Jarry story is apocryphal).

The bicycle intersects with history in other ways—for example, when Raab comes across a young Palestinian boy killed by strafing or artillery fire in Jerusalem during the 1967 war, lying dead among his schoolbooks next to his blue bicycle, or his thoughts on the appearance of the bicycle throughout other terrible moments in the century: "... Russian refugees fleeing German air death, their belongings strapped to their carts and bicycles; Vietnamese peasants jumping into ditches to escape Napalm fire, their bikes left by the road; a recent photo from Sarajevo showing an elderly gentleman in a tight fitting suit riding his tall bicycle amidst the ruins of his once beautiful and prosperous city, his face an expression of strenuous effort and much sorrow. Somalia, El Salvador, Angola, Kurdistan—the list goes on." Later, he returns to the site

where the Palestinian boy died, near where his own parents are buried. "Following Jewish tradition, I place stones and flowers on the spot."

Raab also tells the story of Marie Rose Gineste, shown in a recent photo with the same bicycle she used as a young woman in the French village of Montauban in 1942 to deliver a letter throughout a district of a hundred kilometers that urged village priests and their parishes to resist the deportation of Jews by the Nazi occupiers and their cohorts. She began hiding fugitives and using "a simple black bicycle with a tiny bell and a small generator light, whose beam managed to pierce the darkness," to participate in the resistance.

"There are times," Raab comments, "when the saving of the world can begin with a single bicycle and its brave rider, who forty-seven years after the war, is still riding along country roads." One is reminded by such testimony that every time an individual steps forward (or onto a bicycle's pedals for that matter) to resist injustice and to affirm life, a kind of eternal mythic return to the essence of what it means to be human is repeated, like the bicycle wheel turning around once again.

In other essays, Raab comments on such cardinal bike themes as Rossellini's celebrated film, *Bicycle Thief*, which he says, came to be one of "the regions of [his] childhood," and another on the Dutch Provos, who in the early 1960s provided free bikes around Amsterdam for convivial and ecological transport by anyone who wished to use them.

From there he moves, appropriately and necessarily, to recent Critical Mass bicycle demonstrations against the car and the ecological and cultural devastation it is causing. Raab, who has never owned an automobile, nor even acquired a driver's license, concludes, "We have to live in a radically different way"; one cannot help but think that a different way of life is going to include the bicycle, at least for a long time to come.

\$10/per day covers camping, registration, and food. For more information or to tell us you're coming, please contact: Ida, PO Box 874, Smithville TN 37166-0874; 615-597-4409; trayburn@Dekalb.net.

About the cover and page one

Both graphics are taken from, *Street Posters and Ballads*, published by Seven Stories Press, 140 Watts Street, New York, NY 10013; 9X12, \$18, with an afterword by the late Allen Ginsberg.

It's a stunning, two-color, oversized collection of illustrations and songs by graphic artist Eric Drooker representing ten years of work chronicling the political and cultural upheaval on Manhattan's Lower East Side.

Drooker traces the neighborhood's radical history back two centuries in his written introduction and follows with dozens of arresting images—depicting the resistance of the beaten-down, the trod-upon and the forgotten in our brave new economic order. These visual protests debuted on lampposts and walls, but they have long since become part of the ongoing visual and psychic landscape of the Lower East Side.

NEWS & REVIEWS

Continued from page 21

Agreement. McGregor observes that "this was unlike World Wars I and II (and even the recent Gulf conflict), where the defeated countries were forced to pay compensation to the victors. The situation whereby Viet Nam was unable to require the USA to honour the peace agreement indicates how Indochina may have defeated the USA (and its allies such as Australia) militarily, but had nevertheless lost the war."

Cultural Battles furnishes valuable reports on the aftermath of the Vietnam-USA war. Films, histories, even poems (by a regretful former U.S. soldier) are examined and analyzed. Several chapters report on activities of veterans groups. The text is accompanied by excellent photos of contemporary life in Vietnam as well as Australian protest activities.—A.D.

Isn't the movement unorganized? How about the 1999 Slingshot Organizer, a 160-page, pocket-sized, day planner, featuring radical historical dates for every day of the year, plus other useful features. The low \$5 price tag (six or more are \$3) goes to support publication of Slingshot magazine. Ask for a copy when you order at 3124 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley CA 94705.

The 1999 War Resisters League calendar theme is "Young People Look At The World" featuring the drawings and international voices and art of children from across the world. Send \$12 (four for \$44) for WRL, 339 Lafayette St., New York NY 10012; ask for their publication and anti-war organizing materials.

TchKung!, a Seattle-based band, that makes the grunge folks there sound like Elton John, has just released their latest CD, "Incite: A Soundtrack for Post World Insurrection." Their rhythm-driven shows are at once primitive and high tech. They describe themselves as taking their "philosophy of hybridized cultural experimentation into the arena of sampling and programming, abusing the tools of technology."

They perform regularly at Earth First!, Anti-Racist Action, and anarchist gatherings and have toured El Salvador. They've been at the Black Rock Desert in Nevada during the Burning Man festivals doing riot simulation/civil resistance training exercises which included trainees chucking molotov cocktails at life-size targets of Ronald McDonald, Riot Cop, and the Pope.

The CD is available from Post World Studies, 1122 E. Pike, #949, Seattle WA 98122; 206-568-6637.

The fourth annual Bay Area Anarchist Book Fair will be held at the San Francisco County Fair Building, 9th Ave. and Lincoln Way in Golden Gate Park, March 27, 1999, 10 a.m.-6 p.m. Exhibitors will include 60 anarchist groups and alternative book, magazine, and publishers. There will be space for performances and a cafe. Attend as an individual or, if you would like a display table or for information, contact Bound Together Books, 1369 Haight St., San Francisco CA 94117.

What do Chumbawamba, Bad Religion, Rage Against the Machine, and Propaganda have in common? (Other than

being pop success with somewhat radical lyrics, and support for numerous left causes.) They've all featured Noam Chomsky's work on their albums. Chomsky just celebrated his 70th birthday with thousands of greetings solicited online from the publishers of *Z Magazine*. Although, there has been recent debate as to whether he can legitimately be considered an anarchist, mostly he's appreciated for his strong critiques of the media and global capital.

Chomsky churns out books at such a rapid pace that there literally is not such a creature as "his latest." His sold-out talks are booked almost three years in advance and his low key presentation at the lectern belie the sharp analysis he provides while turning the words of the rulers back upon themselves.

The latest entry into the Chomsky industry is the G-7 Welcoming Committee which has issued a recent talk by the good professor entitled, "Propaganda and Thought Control of the Public Mind" as a double-CD. He explores the rise of public relations and advertisement as a means to deflect radical demands in an era when overt state violence became less tenable to keep the rabble in place. Price is \$15 (U.S.) postpaid.

G-7 has a catalog of other CDs (including Consolidated and Propaganda), books, and apparel. They're at PO Box 3, 905 Corydon, Winnipeg, MB, R3M 3S3, Canada; <http://g-7.a-zone.org>.

Active Transformation is a bimonthly direct action anarchist paper now published by a Detroit collective. It was previously printed in Lansing during 1994-95. Vol. 2, no. 2 focuses on immigration law, ("No Human Is Illegal") and its racist application through recent INS raids in Detroit. It calls for an end to all borders. Upcoming issues will feature, "Down with the Criminal Justice" system and a May Day edition.

Subscriptions to *AT* are \$6 for one year; \$1 per issue, but please include 55¢ postage; free to prisoners. *Active Transformation*, P.O. Box 11508, Detroit MI 48211; fax: 313-841-0071; email at activetrans@hotmail.com.

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Start the Millennium Anarchy in Tennessee

By MaxZine

Join men and women, gays and straights, freaks, faeries, nomads, communarians, gardeners, artists, deschoolers, pansies, poets, musicians, magicians, herbalists, jugglers, and others in Middle Tennessee, May 28-31, for a magical weekend retreat of revolution and relaxation.

The site for this rebellion and revelry is Ida (Idyll Dandy Arts) a queer community tucked away on 243 acres where many neighboring communities and households focus on sustainable living, from salvaging building materials to picking wild greens to protesting the military-industrial complex.

Get out to the woods with urban and rural activists to talk, plan, chant, sing, theorize and fantasize, build friendships and projects, hike to waterfalls, agitate and masturbate, share delicious veggie food, play in caves, and party like it's New Year's Eve 1999 and begin a 21st century of peace, food, and anarchy. Take your dreams for reality!

Letters to the Fifth Estate



graphic/Gerald Burns

Fifth Estate Letters Policy

We welcome letters commenting on our articles, stating opinions, or giving reports of events in your area. We don't guarantee to print everything received, but all letters are read by our staff and considered for publication.

Typed letters or ones on disk are appreciated, but not required. Length should not exceed two, double-spaced pages. If you are interested in writing longer responses, please contact us.

Unabomber Symbol?

Dear Fifth Estate:

Your recent article/editorial about the Unabomber makes some good points: the people he targeted were mostly innocent folks, not big corporats. But in some ways your assessment falls short. (See Summer 1998 FE, "Unabomber Cops A Plea")

I am reading FE right now: an article about a global street party to resist "the global capitalists" who wrench more power from local communities and siphon it into their self appointed dictatorship. You link this action to worldwide protests.

Excuse me? A street party to resist/protest world capitalism? How effective is that? The corporats probably sit in their boardrooms and laugh at those stupid hippies and commies. At least the Unabomber shook them up a bit.

Elsewhere in your admittedly excellent newspaper, you list other demonstrations. There seem to be few effective means of resistance. It seems to be either demonstrations or bombs.

I'll admit that bombs are not at all nice, nor do I advocate them. But please realize the symbolic importance of the Unabomber. Your zine decries his supporters, not realizing how the Unabomber provided a symbol and a rallying point for a substantial little mini-movement (at least on the Internet, where hundreds must have logged in at one time or another to read his

manifesto and were exposed to his anti-tech ideas.)

You must realize the importance of a rallying point. The reason the anti-authoritarian movement was so strong in the '60s was because we had a common focus (the Vietnam war). Now, we don't have one issue, we have hundreds of little issues which all together add up to a planet in serious trouble.

I think people realize this. That is why the Unabomber appealed to them. He represented their own choked helpless feeling that they got when looking at the state of this world. Do you have any idea how many people joke about blowing up their workplace? There is a lot of discontent out there and the Unabomber provided a focus.

So, while feeling sympathy for the Unabomber's victims, I am not ready to righteously condemn him. At any rate, the government pulled random quotes out of 30 years of Kaczynski's journals to prove that no, he was not politically motivated, he did it for "personal revenge." (Gee, I guess none of us have ever felt personally enraged enough to want to strike back.) In turn, Kaczynski says that these quotes are distortions and to wait until he has a chance to have his say. (Can you believe what the government tells you?)

Even if it is true that Kaczynski is a psychotic whose actions should be condemned, the mere fact of his resistance to the Machine remains as something remarkable, singular and memorable. Take your symbols where you find them.

Shadow
shadow42@geocities.com

Check Ted's Motives

To The Fifth Estate:

Both mainstream news media and anti-industrial movement publications have given a formidably small amount of discussion about the Unabomber, now professed to be Theodore Kaczynski, and virtually no attention to his manifesto, "Industrial Society and its Future," in the past two years since he was arrested.

The minor amount of discussion that has occurred seems to be largely characterized by negatively-biased criticism of him and almost complete ignorance of his manifesto. The quantity and quality of attention to him by mainstream and anti-industrial media is low considering the magnitude of the Unabomber case as the most major FBI investigation in history and the emergence of an anti-industrial manifesto.

Current discussions about Kaczynski seem to be governed by much prejudice about his mental status which has hindered serious consideration of his manifesto. Only a few groups and individuals have actually been seriously devoted to discussion of Kaczynski and his manifesto. These include "Unabomber Political Action Committee" (UNAPACK) and the Unabomber fan website on the Internet: alt.fan.unabomber. The vast majority of Americans remain totally oblivious to these groups and individuals devoted to the Unabomber, or even that such groups and individuals exist.

Discussions seem to focus only on Kaczynski and his psychological status. He is reported by the mainstream media to be suffering from paranoid schizophrenia. He is also argued to have a host of personality defects such as lack of rage control and

pathological shyness. These personality issues were supposed to be the true cause of his bombings and desire to write the manifesto, rather than a real concern for the condition of industrial society.

My intention is to attempt to initiate more discussions about him and especially his manifesto. This goal is directed in particular to anti-industrial publications. This is justified by Kaczynski's role as quite possibly the greatest link between various anti-industrial movements and also between these movements and the general public. Kaczynski is more widely known both among anti-industrial movements and also among the general public than any other prominent anarchist (Murray Bookchin, Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, etc.) or any other prominent neoluddite or environmentalist (Jacques Ellul, Lewis Mumford, Kirkpatrick Sale, etc.).

To initiate the preliminary discussions in this forum, I would like to present to anti-industrial movement contributors a number of questions.

What were Kaczynski's true motivations in the actions performed by him with relation to his anti-industrial ideology? Are his assumed personal problems based in fact? If so, were his personal problems the sole motivation for his actions? What should one's motivations be in efforts to destroy the industrial system? Has the media not misrepresented him with relation to the above motivations?

Were the bombings an inappropriate or unnecessary means by which Kaczynski should have attempted to propagate his anti-industrial ideologies? Is physical violence always inappropriate or ineffectual for the purpose of destroying the industrial system?

To what extent should Kaczynski's manifesto be valued for the promotion of anti-industrial movements? Should his motivations (whatever they may be) with relation to his anti-industrial ideology and his bombings be reasons to dismiss his manifesto? Is the argument true that he has only made such a discussion appear more negligible and marginal?

It remains to be seen what effects this will have for the future of industrial society.

Thank you, Ted.

Mosa Charlo
Polson, Mont.

Peter Werbe responds: If we're reduced to symbols, I suggest we find one less flawed than Ted Kaczynski. If he's the person most worthy of representing a perspective challenging the Megamachine, it may be time to come out of the woods with our hands up and get a good job.

Are we so desperate that we want to hitch our star to someone who has justified mostly indiscriminate bombings with the cynical excuse that in a media-dominated society only murder would bring attention to his ideas? Or, who gloated about shredding another human being and

Don't Lose The Fifth Estate

If you move without notifying us directly you will miss your next issue. Even if you file an address change at the Post Office, they will not forward Periodicals mail. Please write before moving and include your old address and zip code.

cursed when a bomb set to go off near a classroom failed to detonate? Kaczynski's fifteen minutes of fame (garnered by blood) are almost, if not already, over. The spectacle deals in images, not ideas. We're better off with those authors you mention who may not be as well known as Ted, but at least their hands are clean and their minds a little clearer.

Ultimately, we remember people for their most significant acts. The German existentialist philosopher Martin Heidegger wrote eloquently at times about the destruction of the individual under modern industrialism, but it is his cooperation with the Nazis, not his philosophy, for which he is most remembered.

Chumbawamba? Who Cares?

Dear Fifth Estate:

It's a shame that anarchists in general have so little in the way of cultural breadth. Re: your piece, "Will Success Spoil Chumbawamba," in the Summer 1998 issue on that middling pop band, and whether or not their lyrics retain their anarchic explicitness.

Who cares?

Several weeks before this issue of FE came out, Wendy O. Williams, lead singer of the Plasmatics, committed suicide after a lengthy bout with depression.

Wendy O. held a special attraction for me, not solely for her music, but for her persona and grace, her ability to combine femininity with strength. Without being especially attractive, she expanded my awareness of feminine beauty. Most of all, these attributes were spontaneous to her, unlike the majority of feminists I've met, whose tacked-on self-righteousness and awkward displays of willfulness usually confound any charm they might possess.

I'm taking up this issue not so much with FE as with the anti-authoritarian community in general. There is something artificial in our finding solidarity with any purveyor of elevator music who parrots our ideas without advancing them, while the most creative of musical genres (electronic, ambient, doom, thrash, grind, black and death metal, etc.) lumber about in relative obscurity. Anarchy is more than words, and so long as it lacks even the beginnings of an aesthetic awareness (among other things), the doings of a triple-platinum pop group from Leeds, and their albums with faux anarchist Noam Chomsky, will somehow seem worthy of notice.

Meanwhile, the Queen of Thrash, forgotten, lies dead from a self-inflicted gunshot wound.

John Filiss
Port Jervis, N.Y.

FE Recycling Article Not Helpful

To The FE:

Enclosed is a contribution. Your article on recycling is *not helpful*. (See Summer 1998 FE, "How I Stopped Recycling and Learned to Love It") There was no discussion of selective use, reduced use, recycling of paper (newsprint, shiny journals), metal (cans, scrap), paint, etc., although the reality of the market problem for recycled materials and the limit of times they can be reused, needs some technological attention.

How are you involved in the environ-

mental movement, if at all? The old black flag workers have not always been prominent in the hands-on movement related to matters eco-environmental, matters related to health care, ways of thinking beyond the cooptive and temporary solutions of our would-be masters.

The anarchist press worldwide is too busy engaging in quasi-theological discussion of consistency, purpose and the frailty of our attempts at problem solving. There's still work to be done, if we have strength and will to do it.

Chumbawamba, indeed!

Gene Perrin
Detroit

Peter Werbe responds: Brother Gene has been a supporter of this newspaper since its origins 33 years ago, and has been an environmental and social justice activist even longer. His friendship, energy and generosity are almost legendary in the Detroit community.

The point of my article was to suggest that believing capital's waste problem can be solved without confronting its productive apparatus is an illusion. Also, to demand that the system churn out far fewer commodities than it does currently, brings one onto a collision course with Capital's motor force—relentless production.

Citizen recyclers are well-intentioned, but the industry that reprocesses waste is highly toxic itself. Rather than diminishing the industrial grid, recycling expands the whole panoply of what anarchist revolutionaries seek to eliminate—factories, wage slaves, hierarchy.

A lot of old newsprint is being recycled (including mine), but the paper industry's appetite for clearcutting forests hasn't been diminished one bit. However, rivers in Wisconsin are destroyed from effluence of the paper recycling process.

By the way, the 100-year-old, Swedish, anarcho-syndicalist magazine, *Brand*, featured Chumbawamba singer, Alice Nutter, on the front cover of their January 1998 edition. Sample copy from *Brand*, Box 150 15, S-10465 Stockholm, Sweden. (Swedish language with English summary).

Out Of Context

Dear Fifth Estate:

There were a few errors in the Summer FE that I felt should be corrected. In the review of BM Ignition's dossier, *Uncontrollables vs. the grotesque Framewup*... Alfredo Bonanno is listed as one of the four people arrested in 1994 for bank robbery. This is not the case.

The fourth person arrested for that robbery was Antonio Budini. In the same review, you mention that the Italian state was trying to pin several crimes on the many anarchists arrested, but completely ignore the central charges. The state is trying to charge 38 of the arrested with membership in an armed gang, and the rest with membership in a subversive organization.

This alleged organization is called by the prosecutors the Revolutionary Anarchist Insurrectionalist Organization, and they accuse Alfredo Bonanno of being its leader. That all of the accused are anarchists who reject formal organization in favor of affinity groups with specific projects is what makes this a grotesque frame up.

In David Watson's diatribe against

"Fixed Ideas and Letter Bombs," he makes two errors. Venomous Butterfly Publications is a publishing project which publishes pamphlets and a 'zine called *Willful Disobedience*. Also the last quote Watson uses from "Fixed Ideas..." is actually a misquote.

The actual text reads: "I will gladly sacrifice anyone or anything that *interferes with my ability* to create my own life and interactions as I choose." The deletion of these five words significantly changes the connotation of the statement.

Finally, I'd have thought that David Watson would be aware that "most people know" that principled debate does not consist in quoting your opponent out of context in order to make snide comments, or comparing them to movie psychopaths and fanatical cultists. "Most people know" these latter tactics are a smear campaign.

Wolff Landstreicher
Los Angeles, Calif.

Watson replies: The errors in my essay to which Wolff refers were inadvertent, but I see no meaningful difference between his line as I cited it and the line with its original dependent clause intact. After all, why else would Wolff bother to "sacrifice" people unless they got in his way (say, by making annoying noise, as did the passenger planes overhead that the Unabomber intended to blow up)? As for "movie psychopaths and fanatical cultists," it was *Green Anarchist* that advertised one Freddy Krueger as spokesperson of its Kaczynski defense campaign and which explicitly praised the actions of the Japanese Aum Cult (which spread poison gas in the Tokyo subway) and fascist bombers in Oklahoma City.

It's Very Simple

Dear Fifth Estate:

Perhaps having seen Stewart Home's reply about the tailor's dummy, you will now understand the problem, and see for yourself the crooked way the Neoists operate, the crooked way they argue, their many lies and fabrications. (See Summer 1998 FE, Letters) We have had all this since 1994.

I know it is a long way between us, and there being a lot of ocean between here and Detroit, but you ought to know that selective quotations from your article about the *Green Anarchist* versus Neoist conflict have been put together into a Neoist leaflet "Militant Spasm" to make it look as though the *Fifth Estate* supports the Neoists and condemns GA.

On the one hand airhead Home supporters in London might well want to read FE because they think it condemns GA. Readers and sympathizers like this you can well do without. On the other hand, those in the know about what is really going on, but too lazy to check it out may well condemn FE too, along with Home.

As I said in my last letter, it really is very simple. Home and Tompsett fly flags of convenience. Sometimes they are "anarchists," sometimes they are "art terrorists" or whatever trendy label they think their audience will go for. The fact they are written about favourably in Searchlight magazine ought to concentrate your mind a little.

Green Anarchist magazine is under attack by the state, the police and the seer state. DSI Desmond "The Loony" Tho-



WWW.PIR.ORG

APOLOGIES TO TOMTOMORROW

Graphic from Three Crows Conference (available for \$4 from P.O. Box 6496, East Lansing MI 48826-6496).

mas and the Hampshire Thought Police attacked GA with "Operation Washington." They are trying to close us down.

At the same time as this, GA has also been under attack from "within" (ha, ha) the movement by the state's proxies; firstly in 1990-1993 by Searchlight, Hill and Hepple, and latterly, 1994 and onwards, by Stewart Home, Fabian Tompsett and all their front organizations—Neoist Alliance, Unpopular Books, Luther Blissett, Karen Elliot, etc.

If you can understand this, then you will know that to side with Home and Tompsett is to side with the state.

Having said this, I personally have no problem with you analyzing and criticizing GA's politics in your magazine.

Yours in a personal capacity,
Artt Harries
Lancaster Bomber magazine

Shoplifting Is Consuming

To Fifth Estate:

It bothers me to see pieces glorifying shoplifting in anarchist publications like the *Fifth Estate* (See "Shoplifter's Prayer," Summer 1998 FE) or *Live Wild or Die*. I know the riff: "Oppressing Institutions ripping us off to support CEO's at bloated salaries..." but I still don't think that's what we should be about.

First of all, people who take from stores are still tied in to the industrial production system. They are still dependent on that system to provide for their needs. They are still "consuming" the products of the industrial growth society.

Rather, we should be developing our own support systems based on the work of our own hands, providing for our own basic needs, whether distributed through co-ops, by local currency, by barter, by free distribution, or however. The object should be to be buying and/or using products created within our own communities, however we define them.

This strengthens those communities and liberates those who produce and consume those handmade, homemade, community-workplace-made goods. Capitalist goods are an addiction. The shoplifter is like a crack addict who is not capable of providing for him or herself and depends on peasants in Columbia to provide for his or her needs. The analogy is apt, because when one "liberates" discount store goods, it usually means that seriously underpaid

and exploited workers in some foreign land are providing for one's needs. Self-reliant is independent.

If we can't make what we need, let's try finding the means to do that, rather than feeding our "stuff" habit.

Those who want to do away with property would have more success in convincing others, I believe, by freely sharing their own stuff by giving it away than freely sharing someone else's stuff by shoplifting it.

Labor can be shared, too, either as activism or community service or just neighborly help ("mutual aid," if you want to be ideological about it)—"Food not Bombs" comes to mind. In terms of communication, their message is clear and bright. Shoplifting does not communicate nearly as well to a public which knows that, unjust or not, they are going to end up paying for the shoplifter's spree by paying higher prices for everything else. Never in recorded history has a CEO taken a reduction in salary because of shoplifting losses.

Anarchy is the most difficult of political (apolitical) systems. It requires a high degree of awareness, and self-responsibility.

That is the main reason why it is still so unpopular. It is particularly hard to attempt to establish anarchy within the context of an individualistic—particularly a rich, individualistic society such as ours. Where it has succeeded for any length of time has been in societies where it is an integral part of the culture, handed down through the generations, when it was just "what you do"—no question about it.

Anarchy grows when people first take responsibility for themselves, then take responsibility for the health and welfare of their community, then they can think about their bioregion, and so on. Of course, all this usually happens more or less simultaneously, but the point is clear: without rigid institutions to rely on, we are going to have to be responsible for ourselves. The time to start is now—"The way to win the revolution is to act as if we have already won."

An anarchist future of necessity will have to be more about giving than taking, more about growing than destroying, more about loving than despising. If it sounds hard that's because it is. Autocracy or self-centered individualism are much easier—that's why they are so widespread.

Rather than shoplifting, which seems to me to spread further covetousness and distrust throughout the urban centers, why

not plant gardens instead? *There* is a sign of faith in the future. Feed others, build housing—for money or trade if it is your livelihood, for free if you can afford it—but be a producer, not a consumer of the stolen work of others' hands. That, I believe, will produce a change that is far more likely to last.

David
Whittier, North Carolina

Feminism Truly Disturbing

To the Fifth Estate:

The nauseatingly PC criticism of Richard Mock's Summer 1997 FE cover as "sexist" and "misogynist" (See Letters, FE Summer 1998) serves as a reminder that feminism is one of the most authoritarian ideologies around. It is truly disturbing that many so-called anarchists associate themselves with the rigid leftist dogma of radical feminism.

"Anarcho-feminism" is as contradictory as "anarcho-capitalist."

For Freedom,
CR Walsh (vaginally deprived)
Ft. Worth, Texas

FE reply: You probably would have done a tiny bit better if you hadn't included the parenthetical phrase after your name. Its ambiguity is as sadly suggestive—is it that you don't have one or that you aren't getting any?

Your anger against anarcho-feminists prevents you from noticing the world of difference between the valuable feminist critique of patriarchy and those women who simply want to be cut in on the capitalist/statist racket that currently exists. An anarchism without feminist concerns is hopelessly impoverished.

Anarchism on Radio

Dear Fifth Estate:

Loved your article, "1918: Russian Artists of the Anarchist Revolution." (see 1997 FE) I used it to illustrate the truth with regard to the beginnings of the Bolshevik repression of anarchist, S.R., "Green" peasant organizations, etc. Lenin, from the start, used the tactics of a police state, not of a fellow revolutionary. This clarification was useful for countering several Marxists at the June 20-21 West Coast Micro-Power Radio Conference in Los Angeles.

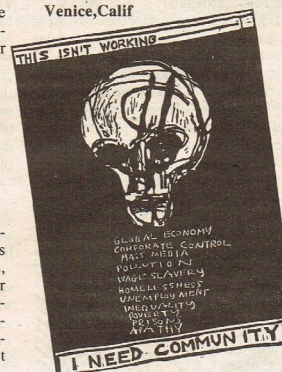
Contacts were made at the conference and there has been progress in spreading the anarchist word across the LA basin through Micro-Power radio. There's a station in Highland Park, one in Long Beach, another in the San Fernando Valley and soon we'll have one in West LA, and Santa Monica.

Discussion of the merits of the Fifth Estate vis-a-vis the new *Anarchy* came up with San Francisco activists, who lean towards the *Fifth Estate* and approve of your perceived movement in a "leftist" as opposed to "Luddite" direction.

What is this Bookchin slam? I've noticed the end sheet description of his books are calling him a "student of revolution" as opposed to an active participant in any process. Is he giving Noam Chomsky a run for his money in "legit" circles, perhaps hoping to become a talking head for media reportage of upcoming riotous

events?

In solidarity,
G. Rumor
Venice, Calif



Call For Posters

To The Fifth Estate:

The enclosed is a xerox of a block-printed poster, the first of a series on the theme of "Building Community." This poster and the call for more such art is a collaboration between Nicolas Lampert in Oakland, Calif., and Susan Simensky Bietila in Milwaukee.

We ask that people send a copy of their art to the Riverwest Art Center and we will circulate copies of all submissions to the other contributors. We will give credit to artists, but they should be clear that the posters are intended to be freely copied and exhibited to make their work a living force and an inspiration for change.

Send posters to:

Susan Simensky Bietila
Riverwest Art Center
3178 N. Frattney St.
Milwaukee WI 53212

Capitalist-Created Ecocide

Dear FE:

I write this in response to the letter by Grace and Michael Hogan in the Summer 1998 FE.

They, like a few other people I've met, assert that environmentalism is a mere "red-herring" constructed by capital to keep people divided and distracted from "true" revolutionary activity.

First, I would ask whether they are making the mistake of confusing the environmental movement with environmentalism. The former being composed of largely ineffectual, highly bureaucratic organizations which are more interested in the size of their membership lists (profit) than with any real change. The latter consisting of the ideals necessary to challenge the predominantly capitalist created-ecocide which is already well underway.

However, from the Hogans' letter, it seems they disagree that there is an environmental catastrophe at all. They state, "There is no scarcity on the planet that a modest redistribution of income wouldn't solve. . . so [all men and women] live as well as any bourgeois burgher. . ."

I quite agree that a redistribution of wealth should take place, but we should not fool ourselves into believing that earth can support anywhere near the resource

consumption it would take for six billion people to live at the standards of a rich North American, or European. The lifestyles of the wealthy are dependent upon the continued assault upon the earth's soil, air and water, as well as the continued exploitation of humanity, animals and the wild.

Such lifestyles must cease to exist if we are to survive over the long term. Realistically then, if the human population is to exist in relative material equality, it will be at a much more modest standard.

As anarchism should challenge all systems of exploitation, hierarchy and domination, it seems that environmentalism (addressing the exploitation of all of nature) should be as important to any viable anarchist analysis as is hierarchy and exploitation among humans.

The most relevant environmentalism is becoming increasingly anarchistic. I see it as a positive sign that the Fifth Estate and the Earth First! Journal are looking ever more like each other.

Anyway, this seems neither the time nor the place to go into a lengthy discussion of the necessity for an ecologically-based anarchism. I would suggest to Grace and Michael that they check out the following books as a solid argument for biocentric (life-centered) anarchism: *The End of Nature* by Bill McKibben, *In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations* by Jerry Mander, and *Earth for Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash* by Brian Tokar.

Two other excellent places to find material about human, earth and animal liberation struggles within a radical context are *Live Wild or Die* (Issue #7 due out this summer) and the 'zine *Strong Hearts*, put

out by Animal Liberation Front prisoner Rod Coronado.

Finally, thanks for a good issue. "How I Stopped Recycling & Learned to Love It" is one of the best things I've read in quite a while. "The Tao of Anarchy," however, would have been a much better piece if the author hadn't consistently confused the name of the author with that of the book. Lao Tzu was the author, not the title of the book.

No revolution on a dead planet,
Mark Stoddard
West Kootenay Green Anarchist Collective
Nelson, British Columbia

John Clark responds: The answer to the question about "The Lao Tzu" is really not so interesting. That's just what it has been called by many people over the ages, just like, "The Chuang Tzu."

For example, Fung Yu-lan in his standard history of Chinese philosophy begins his chapter on early Taoism: "The book known as the Lao-tzu, but popularly called the *Tao Te Ching* . . ." Of course, there's the question of why I chose the former rather than the latter. Well, the article was originally written for the *Journal of Chinese Philosophy* and I suppose I automatically used the ordinary philosophical title.

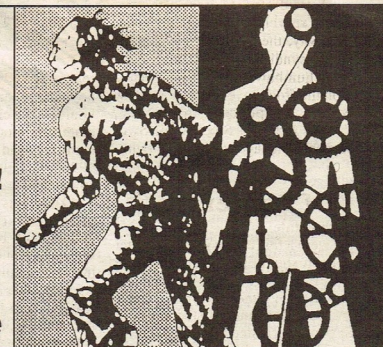
If my article had been aimed at "Lifestyle Anarchists" and denizens of the "Mystical Zone," I might have used the more popular title.

Sign of the Swastika

To the Fifth Estate:

In "Swamp Fever, Primitivism and the 'Ideological Vortex'" (FE, Fall 1997), David Watson attempts to clarify the dis-

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inctions between anarcho-primitivism and eco-fascism, "to allow our ideas to evolve and become more nuanced" as we search for a way "out of mass society and to a liberatory society." Despite his trepidations of obscurity, the issues that Watson implicitly raises—in their very sensitivity and difficulty—are crucial.

Under the sign of the swastika—a primitive and venerable symbol of shamanic spiritualism—all members of my tribe, the Jews, were marked for extinction. Was this merely a Nazi anomaly, an awful coincidence? Or does it raise deeper, more troubling questions about how we view humanity's relationship with nature, myth, and history?

In discussing such (questions—most recently in "On The Road to Nowhere," in the same issue of the *Fifth Estate*—Watson frequently cites *Beyond Geography: The Western Spirit Against the Wilderness*, by Frederick Turner. In Turner's words, this book "is a spiritual story... of a civilization that had substituted history for myth as way of understanding life"—which, for Watson, reveals, the spiritual and psychological underpinnings of the "megamachine," and of modern civilization's war against nature.

What brought this curse on mankind? In an early chapter, "The People of the Book," Turner writes of the Jews:

"[An] antinature bias... is reflected in the grand covenantal experience at Sinai, both in the specifically historical character of the religion that sets it apart from the nature-based polytheisms of all other peoples....

"It seems inevitable that the [Hebrews] god should call the people into the wilderness to reveal the ultimate content and direction of their special historical destiny.... The cumulative effect of all this is to emphasize the destructive aspects of nature and to reinforce the anthropocentric, adversary attitude toward the natural world announced in the paradise myth....

"[The Hebrews developed] 'sacred history' as distinguished from cyclical and therefore timeless myth, and it seems no accident that the Israelites, as is widely acknowledged, were the first people to create and inscribe a consecutive historical record.... In this fundamental way the religion must stand in contrast and antagonism to all natural religions, which, to the extent that they are truly bound to the natural order and rhythm of things, must be deeply repetitive and ahistorical.

"The prohibitions announced at Sinai against imagery and idolatry are a necessary part of such a governing bias. First, images are fated to be representational to some extent, and so... connected to that cyclical nature the god himself was so infinitely removed from, and was now commanding his people to live beyond.... The second reason for the anti-image prohibitions is that traditionally images had been associated with shrines, which are in turn attached to specific localities. Here were people on the march; no attachment, then, was possible to the land....

"The separation from nature and myth and the commitment to history is emphasized... in the new religion's monotheistic character.... It was the Israelites who established monotheism in the spiritual geography of humankind. And with it came the terrible concomitants of intolerance and commandments to destroy the sacred

items of others and to "utterly destroy" polytheistic peoples wherever encountered...."

Turner fixed the Jewish people in his crosshairs, condemning them for their "special historical destiny." He marks this tribe—at the most fundamental core of its identity—as the progenitor of history's most fundamental oppressions, including the destruction of nature. The villain, according to Turner, is the introduction of monotheism.

This is a distortion of monotheism as anyone familiar with Einstein and

deed, a unitary, abstract, and universal apprehension of spirituality. But why must this be viewed as fundamentally "antinature"? Is it that monotheism replaced the "earth gods" with a "sky God"? Ask Einstein: do we live on the earth, or in time and space? Both! Talk about false distinctions and stupid questions!!

The heart of monotheism, then, is a sense that the grandeur of the natural universe may be belittled and lost—not emphasized—in the particularities and reifications of idol-worship and polytheism, and in false distinction.

This sense of grandeur—of Oneness—



Linocut/Richard Mock

Spinoza—or the kabbalists before them—will recognize. In fact, even Einstein and Spinoza, in their very pantheism and universalism, stood by (and deepened our understanding of) the watchword of their tribe: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One."

Many Jews—from neoconservatives to anarchists like Murray Bookchin—may well recoil from primitivism (or its countercultural manifestations) because, sensitized by millennia of experience, they instinctively recognize the potential for attacks like Turner's to issue from such quarters. By itself, however, reflexive hostility is superficial.

As David Watson himself says, "We all need to tread carefully, mindful of our world and the world we say we desire." Every group, every individual, every belief, is susceptible to corruption. Jews wary of the megamachine might also be wary of our own age-old vulnerabilities—to "idolatry of the text," and to a belief that any one individual or group has an eternal patent on Truth or God. We don't own God; God owns us. Or, at least that's part of my "take" on monotheism, and on what it means to be a Jew.

What about monotheism, and about Turner's attack on it? Monotheism is, in-

is a blessing, not a curse. Humanity's tragic history results, not from an Enemy, but from the limitations of an alienated consciousness. It results from failures, by monotheist and others alike, to recognize the manifestations and implications—the humility and awe—implicit in such a perspective.

Mitchell Halberstadt
Daley City, Calif.

Watson responds: By describing my essay as an "attempt" to "clarify distinctions" between primitivism and fascism, and then immediately linking them once more, Mitchell Halberstadt's letter—apparently without intending to do so—undermines the very nuance my essay establishes.

One of my essay's key points was, as Mitchell acknowledges, that any belief can be abused in the interest of domination—including diversity and free-thinking Enlightenment rationality, as certain (here unnamed) out of respect for the many people sick and tired of hearing about them) hyper-rationalist anarchist demagogues have been doing lately with a vengeance.

If Frederick Turner has discerned an

anti-nature bias in the culture and texts of the ancient Jews, it is not a shocking or even entirely original thesis (it has been a discussion in ecological literature at least since the 1960s); it's even less any proof of anti-semitism, any more than a critique of ancient Greek thinking about nature would be racism against the Greeks. Accusing Turner of anti-semitism (of fixing the Jews in his "crosshairs") strikes me as unfortunate and irresponsible as the kinds of thinking I criticized in my essay that dismiss ecomysticism and extra-rational modes of thinking as automatically fascist.

There may be problems in Turner's discussion of monotheism—clearly there are also deep ecological currents or potential deep ecological currents in all the world's monotheistic traditions (as recent scholarship in those fields indicates). But whatever the book's flaws, it seems a useful thesis about the Western tradition as a whole, one worth considering, given the undeniably bloody history and anti-nature hysteria of the judeo-christian tradition overall. Bringing in such unique personages as Einstein and Spinoza as representatives of this tradition who disprove Turner's discussion of antiquity seems too anachronistic an argument for my (non-theistic) mind to accept.

On Gogol Boulevard (short version)

Numerous problems prevented a full version of our feature, On Gogol Boulevard, from appearing in this issue. Look for its return. In the meantime, important events continue to be played out in Ex-Eastern Bloc countries and the Third World. Contact OGB at 528 Fifth St., Brooklyn NY 11215 or on the web at flag.blackened.net/agonny for updates. Items prepared by the Fifth Estate staff.

Anti-Nazi Acquitted

Vaclav Jez, the Czech anarchist who shot a nazi-skinhead in self-defence, (See Summer 1998 *FE*, "On Gogol Boulevard") was acquitted in July. The case looked very bad for Jez. The state representative recommended 11 years in prison, but the judge agreed with Vaclav's version of the incident.

The state representative appealed the ruling, so everything can change (the verdict is expected no sooner than six months). Vaclav isn't free yet. He must spend another 18 months in prison because of an earlier sentence (20 months in prison for fighting nazis—he was living in a town full of this shit).

You can send him postcards/letters in any of the main Western languages (also Russian) via his girlfriend: Sonia Samalikova, Dvorska 18, 67801 Blansko, Czech Rep.

Vanunu Solidarity Week

The Israeli Committee for Mordechai Vanunu and for a Middle East Free of Nuclear, Chemical and Biological Weapons sponsored a September week of protest and solidarity to mark the 12th year of imprisonment for the Israeli nuclear whistleblower. Vanunu spent 11-1/2 years in solitary and a parole was recently denied.

The international event noted that since Vanunu's kidnapping and imprisonment 12 years ago, Israel continues to manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons with no international supervision; environmental dangers surrounding Israel's Dimona reactor remain hidden; and Vanunu's human and civil rights continue to be abused.

Fifth Estate Note: Some terminology in this brief but potent essay differs somewhat from the language generally used in the *FE*.

For example, we normally do not invoke Marx and Engels in economic critiques, but much of their economic analyses remains valid into the modern era.

Also, we feel the commonly used term, employed here by the author, "developing," is inaccurate to describe the nations of the South—that is the Southern tier, non-industrial countries. The phrase connotes a process that is not occurring, as the article ably points out.

Despite these minor differences, we think his description of contemporary capitalism is compelling and deserves wide possible dissemination.

The author can be contacted directly at 911 Oxford St., Berkeley CA 94707.

During the post-Second World War economic boom, Marxists were hard-pressed to defend the key tenet that capitalism tends to raise the rate of exploitation of workers by lowering their real wages relative to labor productivity and profits. Amid unmistakable improvements in material living standards for most workers in most advanced capitalist countries, it was hard to argue that the working class was undergoing relative impoverishment, let alone absolute impoverishment.

No more. Impoverishment and immiseration are on the rise just about everywhere in the world. This is evident in statistics on rates of unemployment, poverty, homelessness, and hunger. And it strikes the eye in just about every major city—in the sullen slums of Western bourgeois democracies no less than in the gritty capitals of former Soviet bloc countries and the teeming shanty cities of the peripheral South.

A Blip In A General Decline

What's more, evidence is accumulating that post-Second World War prosperity may prove in the long run to have been no more than a blip in a general decline in living standards since the advent of capitalism.

According to Immanuel Wallerstein, "Perhaps as much as 85 percent of the people who live within the structures of the capitalist world economy are clearly not living at standards higher than the world's populations of 500-1,000 years ago. Indeed, it could be argued that many, even most of them are materially worse off."

Capitalism's tendency to generate wealth for the relatively few and poverty for the many is as much in evidence today in both the developed North and the developing South as it was in the 19th Century England of "dark satanic mills" that Marx and Engels so perceptively analyzed. Now, as then, the poor grow poorer as the rich grow richer.

The deterioration of living standards of the English working class during the early and mid-stages of the Industrial Revolution was halted and gradually reversed largely because some of the wealth sucked from overseas colonies trickled down to the masses, and millions emigrated overseas, reducing the reserve army of unemployed. To-

day, there are far fewer underpopulated parts of the world to ship surplus workers to. So, a halt to the worldwide decline in living standards is unlikely anytime soon. Indeed, it is unlikely as long as capitalism dominates the world economy.

The post-Second World War improvement in wages was consistent with Marx's

many people desperate for any work at any wage, it is little wonder that absolute impoverishment is on the rise in so many parts of the globe.

The United Nations Development Programme estimates that "more than one billion people in developing countries lack access to basic health and education, safe

1985. By the government's own estimate, 36 million Americans lived in poverty in 1995. Even Americans who consider themselves middle-class are being squeezed by a general decline in inflation-adjusted wages that has persisted for more than 20 years, as well as humbled by the erosion of job security and benefits.

The erosion of material living standards in both North America and Europe reflects more than corporate greed, the siphoning off of industry and jobs to the low-wage South, the weakening of labor unions, or even the economic stagnation common to capitalist economies unable to provide sufficient productive investment opportunities to absorb surplus profits. It also reflects the ever mounting costs that industrial societies sustain to maintain larger and more specialized bureaucracies, to gather and disseminate information critical to centralized control, to educate ever more narrowly specialized experts, to fund research and development, to legitimate the status quo, to militarize against real and imagined external threats, and to maintain internal control over increasingly restive populations.

All of these costs are levied disproportionately against the working population—by businesses in the form of higher prices and by governments in the form of increasingly regressive taxes that have reduced labor's share of the economic surplus relative to both labor productivity and profits.

Apologists For Capitalism

The decline in living standards of most workers in most mature capitalist countries would appear even greater if expenditures that workers make out of necessity rather than choice were included in the calculations. New needs—more schooling to prepare for desirable work, a car to commute to a distant job, manufactured entertainment to compensate for the social isolation caused by the breakdown of interactive local communities—raise the real cost of living without necessarily improving the quality of life.

Much is made by apologists for capitalism that, deplorable as poverty is in wealthy countries, the poor are still living better than their forebears used to and their counterparts in less developed countries still do. If living standards were determined solely by the quantity of one's personal possessions, this would generally be true. But poverty is not just the absence of possessions.

Above all, it is the denial of the essentials of a decent life: freedom from exploitation, oppression, violence, drudgery and hunger; freedom to lead the life one values, to assert one's traditions and culture, and to participate actively in community and political life; access to meaningful work, basic education, health care, and a nonpolluted environment; and, above all, a sense of empowerment and purpose. In all these essentials, the world is poor indeed—and getting poorer all the time.

This article originally appeared in the June 1997 *Monthly Review* and is reprinted with the author's permission.

—graphic/Bill Fick

Pandemic Immiseration

The Myth of Capitalist Affluence

by A. Kent MacDougall

proposition that real wages can rise provided they do not interfere with the progress of accumulation. And the post-1973 erosion of wages follows his view that where the reserve army of unemployed is large, real wages can be driven down even below subsistence. Currently,

drinking water and adequate nutrition. And one person in three lives in poverty." An estimated 100 million are homeless. More than 800 million are too poor to afford an adequate diet.

Hunger is widespread and increasing, most notably in Africa but also in the

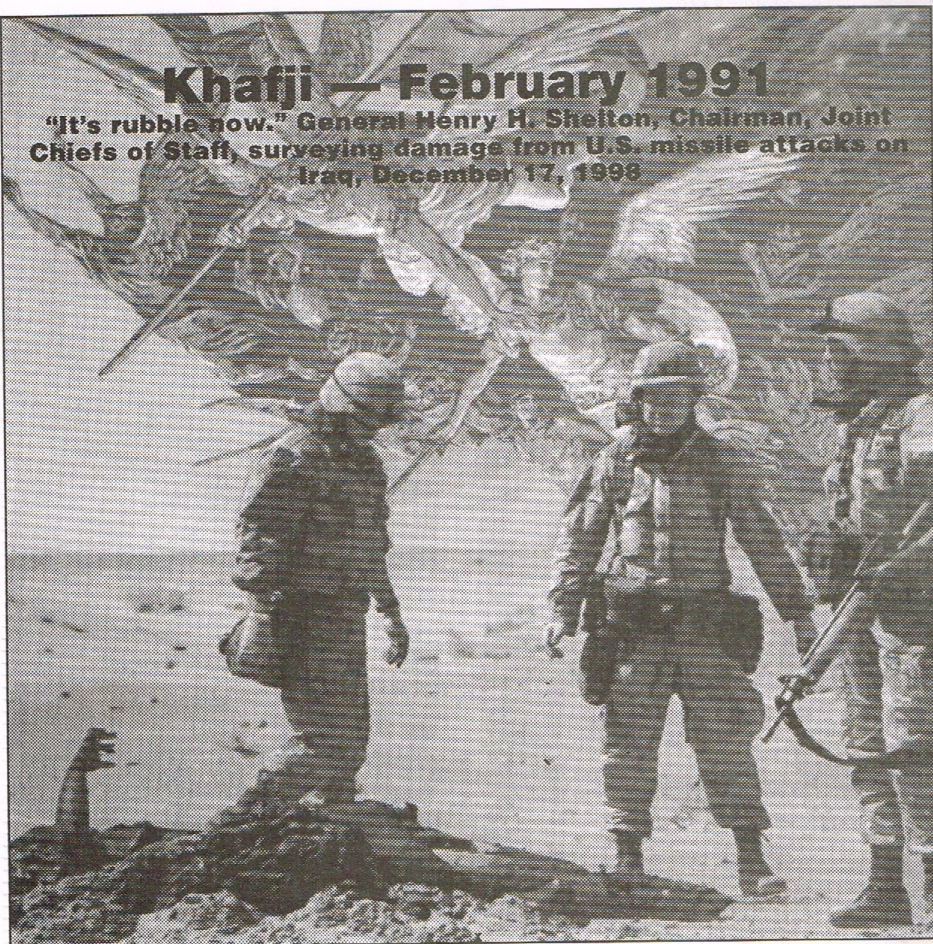


the reserve army of unemployed and underemployed is estimated at a third or more of all workers worldwide. With so

United States where, according to Congressional testimony, the hungry increased to 30 million in 1995 from 20 million in

Khafji — February 1991

"It's rubble now." General Henry H. Shelton, Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, surveying damage from U.S. missile attacks on Iraq, December 17, 1998



Collage/Freddie Baer.

You were once a place before maps were drawn
and what became of you was named, a single morning
inhabited by winds off blue water—and perhaps

there was a cool drink to be found where a snake slept,
where sky-migrants reposed before moving on.
Nomads must have shared sweet tea in the shade of trees
planted by an anonymous prophet, or by the wind.

The sweet smell of you must have made the nomads drunk
before the road came, dragging its clan of trucks and machines
to dig your marrow, crisscross you in an asphalt script,

unfurling the name of their god, before the storage tanks,
and the benzene heat, now slit-eyed and deranged,
turning swollen and murderous. Plundered for a time,
then abandoned to the ravenous missiles that came to tear you

from your feeble breast, you curse the tread of armies
now crossing over you, falling on armies, dying on an iron map,
as you hibernate, turning in sleep, dreaming of another age.

—David Watson

T/SOR/4/1/47



i n • s i d e

Y2K: Will It All Fall Apart?

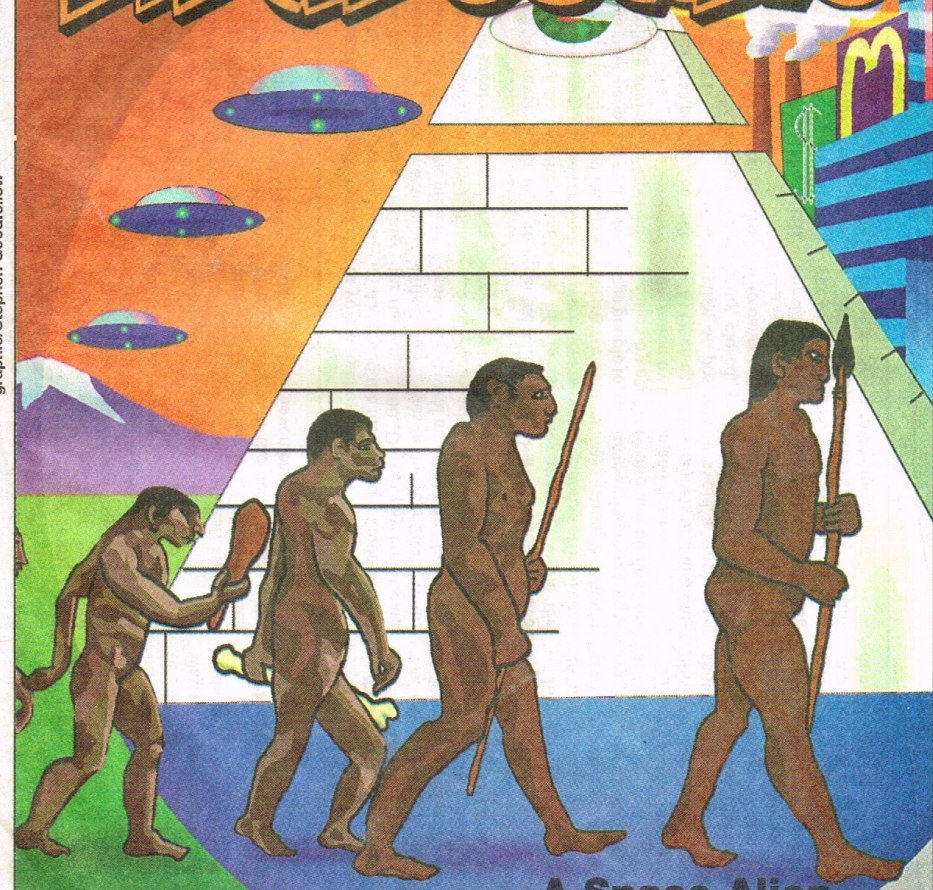
Also: Kosovo: The Empire At War;
Millions for Mumia; May Day in SF
Anarchy in Eugene; Nike Moon

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Fifth estate

graphic/Stephen Goodfellow



THE STATE: A Space Alien Experiment Gone Wrong? -P.14

Thousands Rally to Stop Mumia's Execution

April 24 In Philadelphia, San Francisco and Across the World

by Isabel Gomez

On April 24, the 45th birthday of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, approximately 20,000 people gathered in Philadelphia and other cities, to demand a new trial for the former Black Panther and revolutionary journalist known as the "Voice of the Voiceless."

It was with some trepidation that I approached the City of Brotherly Love, since Philly's police are notoriously brutal and are in a rage that Mumia might escape death at the hands of the state because of international protests. Although the police initially said they would only allow 500 people to march in a "ceremonial parade," they relented under pressure and lifted the restriction.

The night before the march, every state and local politician who wanted to suck up to the cops attended a memorial dinner held for the police officer Mumia was convicted of killing. The head of the police union warned demonstrators to stay away from the \$100 a plate gathering that was raising money for newspaper ads supporting Mumia's execution.

Celebrating Mumia's Birthday

The march, titled Millions for Mumia by its organizers, was plagued by predictions of rain, but the weather dawned so nicely the day of the march that I had no choice but to set aside my reservations and dive in. As the crowd of thousands lined up, it became clear to me that this event was not only about Mumia Abu-Jamal.

It was about the inhumanity of the death penalty, it was about the blatant unfairness of the American (in)justice system, it was about former Black Panthers coming

out to support one of their own, and it was about youth mobilizing in a way that I thought simply didn't happen anymore.

One of the most inspiring aspects of the march for me was the number of young people present. As today's youth turns increasingly materialistic, selfish, and violent, I was thrilled to see that some of the hip hop generation was making itself heard, loud and clear in Philadelphia.

It was, in two words that seem to cover just about everything, really cool. We were celebrating Mumia's birthday and demanding that he be granted a new trial.

At the opening rally, which began in front of Philadelphia's city hall, a range of speakers denounced the unjust trial and sentence for Mumia, who was convicted in 1982 for killing a police officer.

Speakers included Rage Against the Machine's Zack de la Rocha, Pam Africa, Ramona Africa from the MOVE group that has suffered so much at the hands of the Philadelphia police, former political prisoner Geronimo Pratt, Robert Meropol, son of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, comedian Dick Gregory and many others.

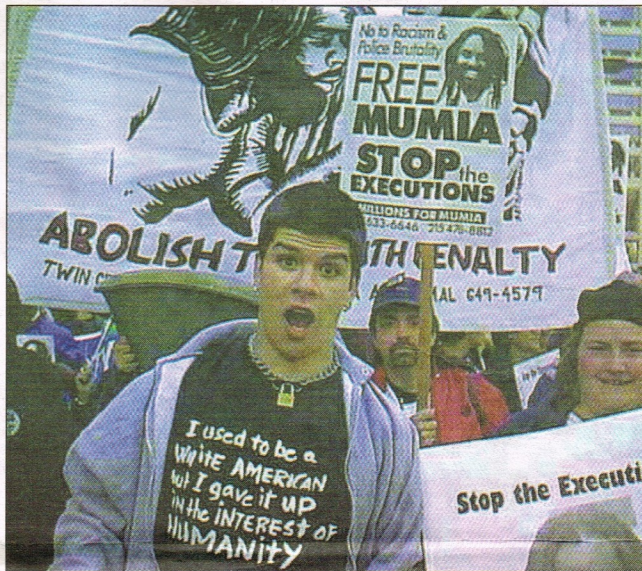
Mazi Jamal, gave a moving and tearful birthday salute to his imprisoned father, saying, "These aren't tears of sadness that you see; they are tears of joy." He told the crowd, "I just want to thank you for coming out here. Free Mumia. Free my pop!"

There were also demonstrations in San Francisco, Amsterdam, Barcelona, Cork and Dublin, Ireland, Edmonton, Lisbon, London, Madrid, Oslo, San Juan, Rome and numerous other cities across the world.

"Brick by Brick!"

There was a healthy and playful exchange going on in the plaza where t-shirt, political badge, along with pamphlet vendors and grassroots politicos exchanged wares and ideas. Young black women in preppy clothes and expensive gym shoes danced while young white guys with dreadlocks played make-

One of the many colorful, giant puppets which marched in Philadelphia April 24. Judge Albert Sabo is the hanging judge who sentenced Mumia to death in 1982 and then denied his appeal in 1995. photo/Julie Herrada



On the April 24 March to free Mumia. —photo/Twin Cities Coalition

shift drums and chanted "Free Mumia!" and "Brick by brick, wall by wall, we're going to free Mumia Abu-Jamal."

When the speakers started, the drumming and dancing subsided, but not so much that anyone would doubt we were there out of a sense of passion. As Emma Goldman said, "If I can't dance, I don't want to be in your revolution." There seemed to be little danger of anyone dropping out of this revolution for lack of joy. After all, it was Mumia's birthday.

Even the most solemn faction I saw, the Coalition to Stop Police Brutality,

Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation, carried their huge banner with smiles. That was truly heartening, and spoke volumes about the hope they have, since their 15-foot-long banner bore the names of hundred of victims killed by police.

I scanned the banner and recognized a couple of high-profile cases, like Malice Green from Detroit, and Anthony Baez from the Bronx, but what struck me were the names of those I didn't know; there were so many.

Continued on page 27

The Crucial Next Steps

1. Be in Philadelphia for a July 4th Weekend march and organizers' conference, plus civil disobedience at the Liberty Bell at noon on July 3. Be part of Philly Freedom Summer, June 28-July 11.

2. Prepare for the National Week for Justice for Mumia Abu-Jamal, September 19-25—seven days of programs, teachings, and actions throughout the country, ending with a "100 Cities for Mumia" mass action on September 25. Participate in the cultural events of "Mumia 911," a National Day of Art to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal, September 11.

3. Organize plans to respond in your community if a new death warrant is signed for Mumia. Demonstrate the next day, 6:00 p.m., at local federal buildings and city halls. In Detroit, contact the Michigan Mumia Coalition at 313-869-8383; nationally, Free Mumia Coalition at 212-330-8029; on the web at www.mumia.org



In San Francisco May Day



Hundreds of revelers in San Francisco dance around the Maypole, weaving ribbons in celebration of Spring, fertility, the earth and May Day. —photo/Robert Thawley

"Alone we cannot change the terms of this rotten deal, but together anything is possible. Undo the leash of time and money. Take back your lives. We have the right, and we have the ability to make life worth living, to make our lives what we want them to be, not what the absurd logic of private property and wage labor says they must be."

—Narration from 1999 May Day Pageant

by David Solnit

The "Landlord, Boss, Government" sign burst into flames, held aloft by face-masked workers during the May Day Pageant—the culmination of this year's celebration of May Day in San Francisco.

On the windy slopes of Dolores Park, over 6,000 people came together to celebrate May Day—International Workers Day—with a Maypole dance, street theater, spoken word and music performances, a 200-foot long graffiti mural, and a free picnic. The event ended with a street theater pageant that became a 2,000 person, festive procession of music, giant puppets, singing, banners, and black/red and black flags. For the second year, a unique alliance of arts, community and workers groups brought May Day back to the Bay Area, connecting it to contemporary struggles.

Reclaim May Day '99 is an experiment in using street theater and celebration to express a broad culture and community of resistance, and to popularize anarchist and radical history and ideas, without speeches or leaflets. The San Francisco Art and Revolution Street Theater Collective initiated the project as part of our ongoing effort to help inspire and catalyze movements and communities capable of making radical change and social revolution.

The celebration recognizes the dual character of May Day, the green, honoring Spring and the earth, and the red, remembering our history of struggle and resistance.

The Green

Bright cloth ribbons streaming down from a 20-foot Maypole began the day, as hundreds of celebrants wove them "in and out, up and down, in the patterns of love and life." This

green side of May Day—a festival of Spring, of fertility, of the Earth, of sexuality, of game playing—was celebrated in much of the world, but was repressed by authorities in Europe and protestant New England long before our government executed the Haymarket Martyrs.

The Red

On May 1, 1886, hundreds of thousands of working people stood up to their bosses and went on strike for the eight hour day as a step-towards a world where all of us could manage our own time, work and lives, free of bosses and government.

Eight Chicago anarchist labor organizers were arrested during the strike, four of whom were hanged (plus one who took his own life) following a bomb thrown at police and a frame-up trial. The strike and its aftermath were pivotal events in the history of workers' and anarchist movements around the globe.

May 1 became International Workers Day to honor the strike and the executed Haymarket Martyrs. May Day is widely celebrated throughout the world except where the tradition began, but labor and community groups in the United States and Canada are now bringing it back.

Cultures of Resistance

Reclaim May Day was full of diverse Bay Area cultures of resistance. As the Maypole festivities wove on, Xtalli, a 20-person Aztec dance group, moved in a giant circle to drumming and song. At the same time, local graffiti writers were painting mural pieces and a spoken word stage mixed up beatnik era poets with teenage

Anarchy in Eugene: A Sleepy College Town Explodes

by John Zerzan and Brenton Gicker

The "Whiteaker" is Eugene, Oregon's oldest and poorest neighborhood. Over the past few years some significant anarchy-type situations have developed in Eugene, especially in Whiteaker.

Icky's Tea House, open from 1994-1997, was an anti-institution institution, a haven for the dispossessed and disaffected. Everything at Icky's was mainly free, including a library, video night, food for the homeless, and bike repair.

After four years, this non-commercial refuge went under, succumbing to increasing pressure from the pigs and a nasty, liberal merchant. A May 1996 punk show benefit for Ted Kaczynski wasn't exactly seen as a bid for acceptance by the straights. The fall of Icky's (a "hotbed of anarchy" as the local media had it) was a bitter defeat for many in the neighborhood.

In June 1997, City Hall executed a Sunday morning stealth move in support of building a downtown parking garage. Two dozen trees got axed, tree-sitters were forced down by pepper spray, and just about everyone in the area, protesters or not, got maced as well.

While most protesters fled the area, a smaller group marched through the mall

smashing out the windows of the much despised SYMANTEC computer corporation and ripping up parking meters.

A more successful fight, at this time, turned out to be something of a watershed. Business owners near Scobert Gardens, a small Whiteaker park, wanted it closed because of the presence of dopers and other undesirables. Many, including those associated with Icky's Tea House, wanted it kept open.

Tore Down The Fences

A rough consensus was reached after public discussion: the park would be fenced off, ostensibly to allow foliage regrowth. After the city initially stated it would go along with the wishes of the neighborhood, the park was officially closed.

Response to this heavy-handedness was immediate: people hung "Free Scobert Park" banners in the trees, chalked slogans on the sidewalk, held sleep-ins, and tore down the fences night after night. The city and its police restored the barriers each morning, but soon gave up and the park remains open. Scobert was a lovely neighborhood victory.

February 1998 was the dawn of Eugene's pirate radio Station, 98.5 Cascadia Free Radio, a project of many

devoted activists, including several anarchists. Some of the more radical shows include The Anarchy Hour, The Ned Ludd hour, the No Comply Show and Revolutionary Nihilist among others.

Around this time, the Fall Creek tree-sits began, with many radical environmentalists and anarchists from Eugene, and elsewhere fighting a lumber company and the Forest Service to preserve some of the last remaining Oregon old growth. The tree-sitters face constant harassment from the authorities, but refuse to leave the forest.

In Summer 1998, there were two other impressive wins for the people of the Whiteaker. The first involved 25 old maples, lining three blocks in the heart of the area. The trees had been drastically damaged by the local power company a few years before to make room for heavy-duty power lines, and the city claimed the neighborhood's signature feature was now too damaged to remain. Popular response was immediate and the beautiful trees are still standing.

Last summer, an explicitly anarchist campaign began, one component of which was property damage. The tactic of sustained targeted vandalism has been a huge step forward and put anarchy on the map.

Predictably, this new stage of contestation was ignored by the media for several months. It was, however the number one topic of discussion in the Whiteaker.

Two of the main neighborhood targets were the Red Barn Grocery, whose owner had engaged in a devious bring-down-Icky's Tea House-campaign, and the Blair Island Cafe, an expensive, potentially gentrifying presence in Eugene's poorest district. Their intentions were clear: Drive out the poor; bring in the rich. The Red Barn Grocery, unfortunately, survives, but the Blair Island Cafe, scene of repeated property damage, closed down.

Visualize Industrial Collapse

All around Eugene, anarchists began targeting fast-food chains, yuppie gentrifiers, computer companies and other agents of exploitation. Billboards and walls were graffitied with Free Ted Kaczynski, Visualize Industrial Collapse, and Property is Theft and other antiauthoritarian slogans.

On a late night in August last year, following a concert by eco-radical musicians, TchKung!, the band pumped up so much energy in the audience that nearly all the concert-goers marched through downtown Eugene, blocking traffic, beat-

spoken word. The food committee, which included the San Francisco and East Bay Food Not Bombs groups, served a free picnic to several thousand people.

The San Francisco Mime Troupe set up their giant stage for the day, and performed a new play about gentrification. Twenty-five teenagers from Oakland, Destiny Youth Arts, blew everyone away with their high energy rap, hip hop dance, and theater mix. Labor choruses sang May Day songs in English and Spanish.

Grassroots groups, including homeless activists, tenants, sex workers, and sweatshop activists, performed street theater about their struggles to survive. As promised, there were no speeches.

May Day Pageant

The afternoon finished with an elaborate street play about the history of May Day, private property and wage labor. Thirty, of over fifty pageant participants, ranging in age from seven to over seventy, joined Art and Revolution just an hour before the pageant. An incredible singing group accompanied the procession with topical songs, while a dance group dramatized the story through movement.

Giant puppets of the Haymarket Martyrs, a Landlord/Boss/Government puppet and masked and costumed cops and workers acted out past and present conflicts aimed at reclaiming our time and our lives. Giant liberation puppets representing labor, our homes and the earth ran down the hill from the outskirts of the park and began the street parade, which wound through the neighborhood, stopping at a Gap store long enough to pie a puppet effigy of its president, Donald Fischer, and then into the surrounding Mission district to decry gentrification.

Reclaim the Future

The spirit and momentum of May Day will continue to attack economic global-

THE ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTIST IS TO MAKE REVOLUTION IRRESISTIBLE.

TONI CADE BAMBERA

ization as we Reclaim the Streets of San Francisco's financial district as part of the June 18 International Day of Action Against Corporate Globalization.

Also, we call on theater groups, artists, activists, and musicians to join us and tens of thousands of others this November 29 to December 3 to fill the streets of Seattle with large scale street theater and mass nonviolent direct action at the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle.

Envision a procession of thousands of people parading through Seattle with giant puppets illustrating the economic and ecological devastation left by corporate globalization and showing glimpses of the world as it could be—global liberation. Toxic chemical die-ins, dramatized uprisings, and huge props taking over major Seattle streets. Vibrant sounds and images of community, life, creativity and resistance in the face of hundreds of deadening WTO bureaucrats, businessmen and politicians.

Contact Art and Revolution

Contact the Art and Revolution Collective on the Web at: www.igc.org/justice/artandrevolution; or phone 415-339-7801. (If out of area, tell us if we can call collect.)



Giant puppets of anarchist worker organizers, Albert Parsons and August Spies, re-enact the 1886 strike for the 8-hour day as part of San Francisco's Reclaim May Day Pageant. —photo/Robert Thawley

ing drums, and eating fire for an impromptu street parade. Anarchists urged the crowd to march to the Fifth Street Public Market, where a security guard had assaulted an activist trying to save trees from being cut to make way for a new Nike town store.

Many people marched with the anarchists attacking car lots, government vehicles and yuppie businesses, until they reached the Nike town construction site. There they shredded the fence, and dispersed as the police arrived. Nobody was arrested.

Another step forward was a protest at the local Nike outlet in October 1998. What began as a standard-issue demo aimed at abusive child-labor practices and other corporate misdeeds of Nike, ended up far more serious. A dozen masked anarchists entered the store and trashed it,

Demonstrators set off firecrackers, smashed pumpkins, destroyed displays and pitched merchandise over a balcony into a fountain two stories below. All involved evaded arrest, and news of the Nike Riot, as it was dubbed, spread far and wide.

In November, a SWAT team raided the home of the parents of a 15-year-old anarchist, who was accused of being at the turbulent Nike scene. The cops occupied the house for seven hours while holding the couple on the floor at gunpoint, and removing a roomful of personal property.

The local newspaper suppressed the story of this outrageous Gestapo-style raid almost as totally as they had the ongoing damage to various businesses, banks, and a police substation.

Two days after the raid, a cable public access program, Cascadia Alive, presented a panel discussion on the topic of violent tactics. (Besides the Nike action, October was the month of the \$12 million arson of a Vail, Colorado ski resort by the Earth Liberation Front.) The participants generally favored violent property destruction and expressed dissatisfaction with tamer, less effective means.

Endorsing Illegal Tactics

The show featured a segment that has become notorious: A masked member of the Black Army Faction, a hard-core anarchist group, read a statement vigorously

endorsing illegal and subversive tactics. According to a reporter, the show has become required study for federal investigators, especially after the Vail arson and the \$500,000 torching of the US Forest Industries headquarters in Medford, Oregon in December.

1998 ended with the vandalizing, for the third time in three months, of a van belonging to Whiteaker resident and Eugene Police Department employee, Todd Schneider (better known as the neighborhood police snitch and wolf in sheep's clothing).

A few so-called anarchists held a candlelight vigil in support of liberal family-man Schneider, horrified by the damage and the "Die Pig" graffiti on his vehicle. These anarchists were embarrassed, however, to learn that Schneider had, three years before, publicly defended a fellow pig who shot two unarmed people to death within a six month period.

In early 1999, *The Black-Clad Messenger*, a periodical appeared devoted to attacking the industrial/authoritarian system, protest-as-usual lameness and other forms of pseudo-opposition, and even civilization itself. Along with this publication, the new, no-holds-barred, anarchist (dis)organization Anarchist Action Collective has done a great deal of tabling at community events to present anarchist analysis and perspectives.

This past winter, after months of the anarchy offensive, mainstream media began to comment on it. The daily *Register Guard* and talk radio were abuzz with the story of anarchy in Eugene. Recently, a *Wall Street Journal* reporter spent five days in town recently exploring the movement and more media attention is in the cards, unavoidably.

Meanwhile, the heat has increased, and two people have been arrested on felony charges stemming from the Nike action. Here, as elsewhere, an increasingly militarized police presence harasses, intimidates and assaults people it considers a threat to work-and-pay slavery.

More and more folks see themselves as anarchists. It is becoming obvious that anarchy is the only alternative and opposition to the devouring system that ravages the individual, society and the biosphere. Liberalism, leftism and various single-issue approaches are still with us, but a worsening reality exposes their severe limitations as it evokes a deeper indictment of what envelops us.

Anarchy—and certainly not just in Eugene—increasingly poses a vision of life that is not based on money, technology, mass-production, or mass-consumption. More and more, anarchy is primitivist or it is nothing, just as it is militant or it is nothing—a vision clearly distinct from what we must end.

Area Reports

Whether you're building giant puppets or fighting puppets of the state, we want to hear about what's happening in your area to build communities of resistance. Tactics and strategies vary broadly from community to community, and we need to know what is working and what isn't. Radical opposition seems more reasonable with each new war and official scandal. Let's move on it!

DETROIT SEEN

It's a pleasure to launch our Summer 1999 edition with a rare splash of color on our front page and center section. The other art and photos also provide an excellent setting for a diverse set of articles.

There are probably more people contributing to this issue than we've had in a long while. We haven't had a color front page in six years, but Stephen Goodfellow's terrific art and the page one photos made it almost a necessity.

This is our second issue this year. Can we actually put out four issues before the millennium? We're going to try! This Summer edition follows our Winter issue, so librarians and subscribers, please note that you have not missed a number. You last received Vol. 34, No. 1, and this is number two.

This edition, like most, would not have been possible without the generous contributions of our Sustainers, our subscribers who frequently add an extra donation to their renewals, and to those who purchase books through the paper. All of this has allowed for a financial viability which is rare in radical publishing. Thanks to all of you.

The good news for artist Tyree Guyton is that the story of his world-famous folk art on an East-side Detroit street is captured in a documentary that is traveling the country as part of the Ann Arbor Film Festival Tour. The bad news is that on May 12, the city made good on a longstanding threat and tore down the block-long Heidelberg Project art exhibit.

For 13 years, Guyton collected large quantities of "found" junk-objects from the trash such as dolls, shoes, bicycles, vacuum cleaners, car hoods, and other material. He hung them on trees and vacant homes, and piled them in the lots of a poor neighborhood in an effort to "find beauty in the ugliness" of urban decay.

Fifth estate

The Fifth Estate is a cooperative, nonprofit project, publishing since 1965. The people who produce it are a group of friends who do so neither to secure wages nor as an investment in the newspaper industry, but to encourage resistance to an unjust and destructive society.



The Fifth Estate (ISSN No. 0015-0800) is published quarterly at 4632 Second Ave., Detroit, Michigan 48201 USA. Phone (313) 831-6800. Our office hours vary, so please call before visiting. Subscriptions are \$8.00 for four issues; \$10.00 foreign including Canada. Periodical Mail postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. No copyright. No paid advertisements.

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Often his surreal outdoor junk exhibits had messages about civil rights and black history. Visitors from as far away as Europe and Asia found the project stunning, but bureaucrats in Detroit's city hall saw to it the art was cleared away by a small squadron of front loaders and dump trucks. This determined effort was something other neighborhoods plagued by authentic trash



The recently reconstituted Layabouts, at Detroit's annual Daily in the Alley. The 17-year-old group became known nationally through their performances at the 1986 Chicago, 1987 Minneapolis, and 1988 Toronto anarchist gatherings. Their one lp is long out-of-print, but you can hear and see them at www.goodfellow.com/layabouts/Pictures/imagenu.html. photo/Rebecca Cook

problems could envy.

An angry Guyton vows to continue doing his art, even if it consists only of painting his trademark pink and green polka dots on buildings around the city. One hysterical city councilwoman upon hearing of the artist's intentions declared, "This man is a menace to society."

Detroit Anti-Racist Action (ARA) is conducting a boycott of a local record store, Rock of Ages, for distributing racist and neo-Nazi music and paraphernalia. ARA has held four picket lines at the suburban Garden City store recently, but owner Robert Farsakian, has been unwilling to remove the fascist material, claiming First Amendment rights.

The protests have been successful so far in turning away customers including even some of the owner's friends. Like other campaigns, this one will take a while before it succeeds. Anyone interested in future actions, urging music distributors to withdraw their product from the store, or sending letters of disgust, contact Detroit

ARA, 1131 W. Warren, Suite 215, Detroit MI 48201; detroitara@hotmail.com.

They really don't come much kookier than Tom Monaghan, Michigan's answer to right-wing financier Richard Mellon Scaife. Monaghan made his fortune peddling bad pizza through his Domino's empire.

Now, after selling the firm for close to \$1 billion, he's spending his retirement financing a right-wing, Roman Catholic agenda that is heavily slanted against abortion rights.

Monaghan's latest adventure is the Ave Maria School of Law which will train students for what Monaghan calls "the 2,000-year-old tradition of Catholic scholarship" and the "enduring truths

Left, the Eggplant Fairie Players performed an April 9 sold-out benefit for the Fifth Estate at Detroit's Trumbull Theatre. The group was touring in advance of their Memorial Day weekend gathering at IDA, a queer community in mid-state Tennessee.



found in natura

Monaghan also funds a right-wing Catholic newspaper, "Credo" (Latin for "I believe"). A recent issue attacked an exhibit of Barbie dolls at the Catholic University of Detroit-Mercy in which students and faculty remade the dolls to represent "real women." Especially offensive to "Credo" was "Cardinal Barbie" because she was dressed in a priest's black cassock and wore an oversized crucifix around her neck.

In a printed message, Cardinal Barbie complains of the "crass and uncompromising patriarchy within the hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church." Cardinal Barbie says the cross symbolizes "the extra burden women must carry."

Many auto industry observers in Detroit have started describing William Clay Ford Jr., the new, 41-year-old chairman of the Ford Motor Co., as an "environmentalist."

The use of that word for a person

whose company does much every day to destroy the earth is truly Orwellian, but it reflects an industry trend in which company chiefs try to portray themselves as deeply concerned about the environment while fighting the toughening of clean-air rules and planning even bigger sports utility vehicles. Ford is a rich kid personified. The great-grandson of the original Henry Ford, he is one of those plutocrats who was born on third base and believes he hit a triple.

As a way of demonstrating its respect for the biosphere, Ford Motor announced production of the world's largest sports utility vehicle, the Excursion. This 19-foot, 3.5-ton behemoth will be two feet longer than such industrial-sized gas guzzlers as the oversized Expedition and Navigator, and get 10 miles to the gallon.

In a repeat of the London Women in Black story reported by Cynthia Cockburn on Page 7 of this issue, a number of us from this newspaper had a similar experience attending a leftist sponsored anti-NATO demo.

The April 10 protest, at the Detroit-Windsor Tunnel was called by the International Action Center, a national front group of the Workers World Party.

When we arrived, we were dismayed to find picketers displaying a profusion of Serb flags, religious iconography, target t-shirts and signs supporting Serbian domination of Kosovo. One of our group began shouting, "Down with NATO; down with Milosevic," which seemed to disturb the

Serbs present, but they didn't do anything.

However, this sent a couple of Workers World hacks into a frenzy, who shouted at us that we were "apologists for NATO," and told us to leave if we didn't like their single slogan protest. We defended our right to say what we liked and to march in a public demonstration, but the head apartheid turned up his bullhorn full blast causing feedback, and rammed it into the face of one of our friends.

That was enough; we left these authoritarian marxist-leninists to the apologists for ethnic cleansing.

In contrast to what Cynthia Cockburn writes in her article, that the London leftists may have been trying to present a complex issue in simple terms, crass opportunism seems a more probably answer.

The *raison d'être* for all leftist cults is to recruit members even if it means, as in this case, lining up physically with those who deny the pogromist nature of their twisted nationalism.

Nike Moon

On the commercialization of everything

by Alon Raab

Harvest moon. Moon of the spirits. Cactus moon. Grandmother moon. Nike moon. Nike moon??

To the many faces and many names honoring the moon, a corporate imprint may soon be added, if a new advertising idea materializes.

Two London-based ad executives, Malcolm Green and Gary Betts, announced plans last year to turn the moon into a giant billboard. By using reflected sunlight from two large umbrella-shaped mirrors, they propose projecting corporate logos onto the surface of the moon. They claim to have the assurance of NASA scientists that the plan is feasible.

Rage, pain, and sadness filled me as I read of this scheme. Is there no limit to the depths of greed and to the disregard shown the natural world? Is nothing really sacred?

Perhaps I should not have been so surprised. After all, the list of atrocities and obscenities characterizing our world in these days of globalization is a long one. The relentless acts by captains of industry and their hand-picked politicians to destroy the ozone, the 250,000 child-soldiers who are currently fighting in armed conflicts around the world, the enormous amount of wealth hoarded by capitalists like Bill Gates and Phil Knight, used not to feed and clothe people but to acquire more, the destruction of the environment, the clearcuts, polluted streams, the homeless—the signs are everywhere.

Assault on the Heavens

Nor should I have been so amazed by the assault on the heavens. After all, the planting of a flag on the moon, the militarization of space, the blueprints for mineral extraction and space factories, the space junk floating above, and the sending of plutonium aboard the Casini space probe, endangering countless lives, has been ongoing for a generation.

My anger at the advertising men was perhaps misplaced as they are little different than the other efforts to commercialize everything they touch. The use of the

Beatles' song "Revolution" and Dylan's "The Times They Are A Changin'" to sell slave labor shoes and accounting services, ads in national parks, and the introduction of Channel 1 (an endless barrage of commercials posing as news) into schools, are recent examples of the role advertising plays in inserting the dominant corporate ideology into all venues of life.

And yet, in this latest plan to conquer the moon, there is a new and sinister element. Perhaps it seems worse since the moon has always been the province of poets, lovers, and dreamers.

Perhaps because while the whole world has been colonized, the moon is still far away, relatively safe from the clutches of those who want to turn the universe into an endless shopping mall. Or, perhaps it is because the moon, throughout human existence, is always in our hearts and souls.

Women's Power

For many people, the moon goddess and the creator were one. For the ancient Finns, the moon, Lu onnotar, was also giver of all life; for the Iroquois she was "the eternal one;" for the Sioux, "the old woman who never dies;" and for the Persians, she was Metra—mother. Across cultures the respect accorded the moon was shared. There is much variety in the creation stories associated with the moon, but a common theme is that of women's power.

For the Polynesians, the creator is Hina—the moon, and every woman is Wahine, "made in the image of the moon." It is no accident that the Indo-European root for moon was Manas representing wise blood in women governed by the moon. For the Greeks Menos meant both moon and power. Hence the threat felt by the early Catholic church Fathers at the sight of women dancing by the light of the moon, and their attempts to ban such practices.

Into this early tradition were later added other stories and myth. Babylonian hymns about primordial creatures emerging from the deep to swallow the moon, and the

Guarnay Indian tale of the god Abaangui who, angered by his big nose, sliced it, and tossed it into the sky, where it became the moon. As I grew up, it was a loyal and beloved companion on camping trips in the Sinai desert, the plains of Lapland, and the Cascade mountains, and a source of joy as I embraced a lover under its silvery rays. All over the world, the corporate colonization of nature is advancing, as is the occupation of human consciousness.

The sight of people in Prague, Bombay, and Portland, dressed as walking advertisements for multi-national pushers of jeans, cigarettes, and restaurants, is a common and pathetic sight. The mysterious Reuters news agency writer (human? machine?) who, in reporting the moon ad story, waxed about how "the moon could be more than just a part of the solar system" is yet another representative of an ideology that is becoming all pervasive.

A mind set and way of being that sees in nature nothing more than an opportunity for plunder. Only the destruction of the natural world and of earth-based cultures make such plans possible. Anyone who would dare to suggest to the Fon people of Dahomey that the moon is nothing but a playing field for hawkers of the latest useless product would be met with laughter or incomprehension. For them, Mawu, the moon, the creator, is the mother of all gods and people, and should be treated with the respect given a mother. Only in a world devoid of respect and awe in the presence of the sacred can such a plan appear.

Resist in Every Way

Mictecacihuatl, the Aztec goddess of the underworld who roamed the skies at night seeking victims to devour, or the Tartar Macha Alla, the moon queen of life and death, may be called upon for assistance. May their wrath and vengeance be swift and mighty upon all those who defile and destroy. But we mortals too must take action.

We must resist in every way this latest assault on the moon and the pathology of conquest that is behind it. Calling attention to the plan, educating ourselves and each other, blocking the launching pads of satellites, boycotting and shutting down all companies who wish to profit from this ad campaign, creating communities of nature-based culture where we help take care of each other and of nature—these are but some essential steps to embrace.

Once, lunacy—possession by the spirit of the moon—did not have the negative connotation affixed to it by those who fear the elements. Let us reclaim this original meaning and power, and let it guide us in our resistance.

Let us be wild in opposing those who have forgotten how to listen to their hearts and how to honor what is truly important and which has no price tag or measure—ebbs and tides, cycles of monthly creation, the warm gaze and loving hand of a loved one while dancing—not under a corporate death-strobe, but under a moon lit sky.

"Let us be wild in opposing those who have forgotten how to listen to their hearts and how to honor what is truly important and which has no price tag or measure."



KOSOVO

THE EMPIRE AT WAR

B-2 Spirit Bomber—photo/U.S. Dept. of Defense (sic)

FE Note: Hopefully, by the time you read the following articles, the murderous assault on the Kosovar people and the bombing of Serbia will have ceased. As we put this issue together, we realize that the war (if you can use that word to describe a sustained bombing campaign in which the other side cannot respond) may soon be either ended or escalated to a more dangerous stage. In either event, we think these three essays capture much of the desperation and horror we feel about the situation and are relevant regardless of what transpires in the coming weeks and months.

The Current Bombings

by Noam Chomsky

The United Nations Charter bans force violating state sovereignty; the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UD) guarantees the rights of individuals against oppressive states. The issue of "humanitarian intervention" arises from this tension. It is the right of "humanitarian intervention" that is claimed by the US/NATO in Kosovo, and that is generally supported by editorial opinion and news reports.

We may also bear in mind a truism: the right of humanitarian intervention, if it exists, is premised on the "good faith" of those intervening, and that assumption is based not on their rhetoric, but on their record, in particular their record of adherence to the principles of international law, World Court decisions, and so on.

That is, indeed, a truism, at least with regard to others. Consider, for example, Iranian offers to intervene in Bosnia to prevent massacres at a time when the West would not do so. These were dismissed with ridicule (in fact, ignored); if there was a reason beyond subordination to power, it was because Iranian "good faith"

could not be assumed.

A rational person then asks obvious questions: is the Iranian record of intervention and terror worse than that of the US? And, other questions, for example: How should we assess the "good faith" of the only country [the US] to have vetoed a Security Council resolution calling on all states to obey international law?

A Humanitarian Catastrophe

What about US' historical record? Unless such questions are prominent on the agenda of discourse, an honest person will dismiss it as mere allegiance to doctrine. A useful exercise is to determine how much of the literature—media or other—survives such elementary conditions as these.

How do these apply in the case of Kosovo? There has been a humanitarian catastrophe in Kosovo in the past year, overwhelmingly attributable to Yugoslav military forces. The main victims have been ethnic Albanian Kosovars, some 90% of the population of this Yugoslav territory. The standard estimate is 2000 deaths and hun-

dreds of thousands of refugees.

In such cases, outsiders have three choices: (I) try to escalate the catastrophe; (II) do nothing; (III) try to mitigate the catastrophe. The choices are illustrated by other contemporary cases. Let's keep to a few of approximately the same scale, and ask where Kosovo fits into the pattern.

Escalate The Atrocities

(A) Colombia. In Colombia, according to State Department estimates, the annual level of political killing by the government and its paramilitary associates is about at the level of Kosovo, and refugee flight primarily from their atrocities is well over a million.

Colombia has been the leading Western hemisphere recipient of US arms and training as violence increased through the 1990s, and that assistance is now increasing, under a "drug war" pretext dismissed by almost all serious observers. The Clinton administration was particularly enthusiastic in its praise for President Gaviria, whose tenure in office was responsible for "appalling levels of violence," according to human rights organizations, even surpassing his predecessors. In this case, the US reaction is (I): escalate the atrocities.

(B) Turkey. By very conservative estimate, Turkish repression of Kurds in the 1990s falls in the category of Kosovo. It peaked in the early 1990s;

one index is the flight of over a million Kurds from the countryside to the unofficial Kurdish capital Diyarbakir from 1990 to 1994, as the Turkish army was devastating the countryside.

1994 marked two records: it was "the year of the worst repression in the Kurdish provinces" of Turkey, Jonathan Randal reported from the scene, and the year when Turkey became "the biggest single importer of American military hardware and thus the world's largest arms purchaser."

When human rights groups exposed Turkey's use of US jets to bomb villages, the Clinton Administration found ways to evade laws requiring suspension of arms deliveries, much as it was doing in Indonesia and elsewhere. Colombia and Turkey explain their (US-supported) atrocities on grounds that they are defending their countries from the threat of terrorist guerrillas. As does the government of Yugoslavia. Again, the example illustrates (I): try to escalate the atrocities.

(C) Laos. Every year thousands of people, mostly children and poor farmers, are killed in the Plain of Jars in Northern Laos, the scene of the heaviest bombing of civilian targets in history it appears, and arguably the most cruel: Washington's furious assault on a poor peasant society had little to do with its wars in the region.

The worst period was from 1968, when Washington was compelled to undertake negotiations (under popular and business

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A letter about some of the complexities of opposition

Being able to say neither/nor

By Cynthia Cockburn

Women in Black is against the whole continuum of violence, from male violence against women, to militarism and war. It is for justice and peace. It is for multi-ethnic democracy. It is for non-violent, negotiated, means of resolving differences. There is an implicit analysis that a certain kind of masculinity fuels and is fueled by militarism and war, and that this is harmful not only for women, but also for men.

Women in Black started in Israel in 1988 as protests against the occupation of the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza. It was those women who established the characteristic form of action, mainly silent vigils by women standing alone as women, wearing black, in public places, at regularly repeated times.

At the time of this writing, as the ethnic aggression intensifies in Kosovo/Kosova, and NATO bombing shows no sign of ending, there is very little space for this kind of politics by women. Even less than usual. The little space that is sometimes there has closed right down, not just in

Yugoslavia, but in the UK too. What is happening is polarization, a kind of "either/or" politics.

Take, for example, a big demonstration on April 11 called by the Committee for Peace in the Balkans, largely framed by the Socialist Workers Party, at which the speakers included many well-known names from the British left. Some of us took a Women in Black banner along.

Many of the Women in Black network in London want to oppose NATO bombing. Our opposition is not to protect Serb nationalist extremism, but precisely because we would see the bombardment as strengthening, not weakening it. For that reason we have been holding vigils in London.

Ocean of Placards

On April 11, even as the march assembled on the Embankment, I was feeling uneasy because there was this ocean of pre-planned Socialist Worker placards that simply said, "Stop the NATO Bombing." Any messages opposing the ethnic ag-



Detroit Women in Black march in heavily Arab Dearborn, Mich. in 1998 demanding an end to the US assault on Iraqi civilians. —photo/ Rebecca Cook

gression of the Milosevic regime were overwhelmed by this uniform and singular demand.

We reached Downing Street, where the march was joined by a strong contingent of Serb nationalists and their supporters. We were surrounded by the Serb national flag, the characteristic three finger salutes, and many people wearing the new target symbols that have been adopted in Belgrade since the bombing.

At the bottom of Trafalgar Square, things got very confrontational. To the left, held back behind barriers, was a militant Kosovan counter-demonstration supporting the bombing. Angry Serb nationalists were shouting back from "our" side of the road, some of them carrying a scaffold

with an effigy of Clinton. At that point, I took down the Women in Black banner. It seemed the wrong place to have it.

Behind the Macho Front

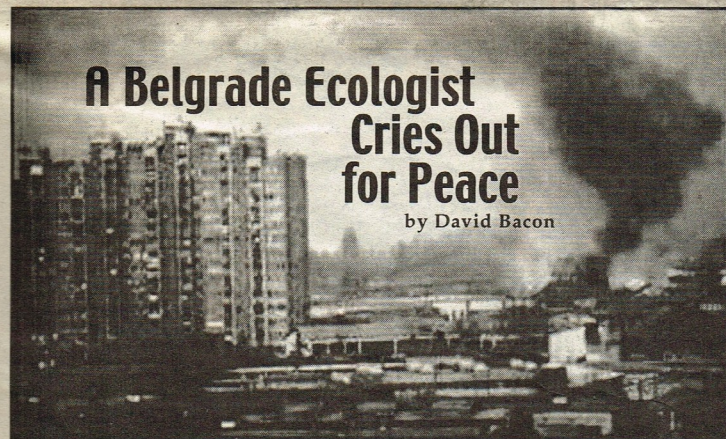
Some of us women decided that we wanted to meet people at the Kosovan demonstration. We wanted to find out whether they were all Kosova Liberation Army, to see what other groups might be represented there behind the macho front, and talk with them. We wanted at least to let them know there were some people on the main march who, although you wouldn't know it, not only opposed bombing, but also opposed Milosevic and what his regime was doing in Kosovo.

The police tried to stop us crossing to the other side of the road. One of them said, "You can't change your mind now, you chose this demonstration; you've got

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A Belgrade Ecologist Cries Out for Peace

by David Bacon



NATO bombs rained down on her city, beginning in its suburbs and then moving into the heart of Belgrade. First the planes and cruise missiles came just at night. But then their aerial assault seemed to know no set time of day.

Finally, Branka Jovanovic sat down at her computer terminal and typed out a cry for peace, sending it out on the Internet to the world.

While Yugoslavs and Serbs today are routinely painted in the US media as blood-thirsty nationalists, Jovanovic can hardly be called by such a name. She belongs to the German Greens. She is president of the environmental committee, NZS, in

Belgrade. She is even honorary president of the Ecological Party of Tirana, capital of Albania, and has helped to organize numerous groups promoting dialogue between Muslims and Serbs. Her own children are born of a mixed marriage.

An ecologist, she sought to put a human face on the environmental catastrophe caused by the bombing. "NATO chooses targets in the vicinity of extremely dangerous machinery," she explained. "On the very first day, the municipality of Grocka was hit, where the Vinca nuclear reactor is situated, containing a great storage of nuclear waste."

Jovanovic also listed petrochemical and

artificial fertilizer plants in Pancevo, and a chlorine plant in Baric, which, she says, still uses the old technology of the plant in Bhopal, India, where a chemical leak led to the deaths of thousands.

"It is not necessary for me to explain what blowing up one such factory would represent," she declared. "Not only would Belgrade, at a distance

of 10 kilometers, be endangered, but the rest of Europe would be, too."

"On the second day," she recounted, "in the Belgrade suburb of Sremcica, a chemical production factory and a rocket fuel storage facility were hit, causing a mild toxic exposure of the surrounding area. Four national parks were hit—all members of the international association of national reservations. You must realize that Yugoslavia is among 13 of the world's richest biodiversity countries."

On the third day, she told her unknown readers, fleets of NATO bombers and cruise missiles struck Belgrade's neuro-psychiatric clinic. They came perilously

close to the Yugoslav Cinematheque, one of the richest film archives in the world, listed as a world cultural treasure. The village of Gracanica was also hit—site of a medieval monastery now being considered by UNESCO for inclusion on the world heritage list.

She went further to warn of the impending use of B-1 and A-10 bombers, "carrying missiles with depleted uranium previously used in Iraq and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Their use will bring about dangerous consequences to the health not only of soldiers, but also the whole population. As you know, toxins and radioactivity know no nationality or borders."

While President Clinton frames the NATO assault in terms of human rights, the bombing of the factories may be a truer guide to its intentions. Yugoslavia has remained the pariah of US policy in the Balkans since the secession of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. While these states have carried out the kinds of economic reforms mandated by the International Monetary Fund in countries around the world, Yugoslavia has not.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the economy also lies prostrate as a result of five years of civil war. But there, the Dayton accords, which ended the fighting, created a novel situation, in which NATO enjoys an unprecedented political and economic role.

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Being able to say neither/nor

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to stick with it. Don't you know which side you're on?" That seemed to epitomize the situation.

We went over anyway. What was worse, though, was that the same kind of message we were getting from the police was also coming across from the speeches in the Square. It was clearly a difficult situation for the speakers to deal with, addressing an audience in which the thing mainly visible was Serb flags.

One woman speaker on "our" platform did criticize Milosevic. She got booed by the crowd. Perhaps this warned off the other speakers. I did not hear the word Milosevic mentioned again. The impression given was that there was one enemy and that was NATO.

People spoke of "the humanitarian disaster in Kosovo," but, since Milosevic was not named, the implication could have been that it was the result of the bombing. Nobody I heard speak acknowledged the presence of the Kosovo demonstration across the road, or expressed any discomfort in being separated in this way from the victims of ethnic cleansing.

It seemed to me (although I know views are divided on this), that the organizers allowed the rally to be hijacked by Serb nationalism. You had the feeling they were thinking: "One thing at a time. You can't oppose bombing and oppose Milosevic in the same breath." But all the time I was thinking, there must be people here in Trafalgar Square from the democratic opposition to Milosevic. There are sure to be some men here in the crowd who have deserted from the Yugoslav National Army. They, like us, must feel silenced by this atmosphere.

Nor was the problem only one of polarization. There was a parallel problem of homogenization. In bombing "the Serbs," NATO is effectively being racist about Yugoslavia. It is as if they think a pure Serb nation is a reality in Yugoslavia in the way Milosevic would like it to be. Governments' failure to see beyond ethnicism is one thing, but the organizers of this demonstration, called to oppose governments, seemed to fall into the same trap of talking as though the people beneath the bombs are "Serbs."

In reality, the Yugoslavia that Milosevic governs is not much more than 60% Serb. There are twenty other nationalities living there, Hungarians, Romanians, Croats, Sandjak Muslims, Montenegrans. There are people of mixed marriages and mixed parentage.

Probably many of these were present in Trafalgar Square on April 11. What were

they feeling about being addressed as if all of them were holding Serb flags?

By now I was full of doubt and confusion. We had folded up the Women in Black banner, but should we be here at all? I remembered a message I had a few days before from a (so-called Serb) woman friend living in Canada.

She had written, "The stage is set right now as if anti-NATO is for ethnic cleansing, Milosevic and radical nationalism. And that is very dangerous." Because of this, she said, "many people have problems with protesting."

I began to think about the women we work most closely with in Yugoslavia: the Women in Black group in Belgrade. They have demonstrated against the Milosevic regime, in rain and shine, in Republic Square once a week since 1991. Now what rains on them is bombs.

I went home after the demo and read through the many e-mail messages we had from them in the preceding weeks. I did it to recover a sense of direction and belonging. I remembered that during the equally dark days of the Bosnian war, when we had difficulty unifying women in London (who were not only British but also from every Yugoslav ethnic group), the one thing we had always been able to agree on was supporting the women peace activists in Belgrade.

I read how they have persisted, against increasing odds, in keeping in daily contact with our women colleagues in Pristina, Albanian Kosovans, and have tried to keep supporting them.

The atmosphere in Belgrade is getting more and more sexist and misogynist. The women write from there that many placards on the streets say things like "Fuck you, Chelsea" (of Clinton's daughter), and

"Choose a way of doing things that ridicules and counteracts all the sexist, masculist posturing that goes with militarism on every side."

endless references to Monica Lewinsky, calling, "Come back, Monica," so that Clinton might "screw her instead of Serbs." And so on.

The little space there was for active and autonomous women is narrowing down, along with tolerance of any other kind of counterculture.

As the bombing ended its second week, things were clearly getting tougher for women and other peace activists in Belgrade.

One woman wrote: "Our problem here is that we cannot say a word anymore, all human rights are suspended. Only anti-NATO appeals can be published. So, Women in Black Belgrade have decided not to make any appeal, at least for the time being, because we cannot as well state that we are against Milosevic. So, I live with a mask on my face, if I talk to other people. Everything changed here, and fear is everywhere."

But, here in London we do not have to wear that mask. We can speak out both against the bombing and against the Milo-

sevic regime without any kind of risk or fear.

On the demo on Sunday April 11 that was not happening. One statement had been allowed to silence the other. I really think we have to keep both clearly there together, even if it seems contradictory. There is a saying that the first casualty of war is truth.

I am feeling that another casualty in this war, right now, is the willingness to live with ambiguity and contradiction, to say "not this (not ethnic cleansing), but 'not that (bombing) either."

Another casualty is the ability to say, "I don't have an answer." Preparing for Women in Black vigils in London we are having a lot of difficulty just now knowing what positive demands we can put on our banners and placards. But maybe we have to admit that we can't have very concrete answers at this moment, because the mistakes were begun years ago.

But the thing I most feel I want to do is just keep listening to the women who are there, the ones who are taking the risks, and whose political judgment we have by now got eight years of knowing we can trust. And the things they do clearly model for us is: keep talking, keep the channels open, cherish diversity, believe we can live together, refuse military solutions.

And, choose a way of doing things that ridicules and counteracts all the sexist, masculist posturing that goes with militarism on every side.

There are Women in Black groups now in many different countries. E-mail them in Spanish at roal@nodo50.ix.apc.org and in the UK at jane@gn.apc.org.

Post-address is WIB c/o The Maypole Fund, POB 14072, London N16 5WB, UK.

IF A CLUSTER BOMB COULD TALK

By Norman Solomon

H! My name is CBU-87/B, but let's not be formal. A lot of my friends call me Cluster Bomb.

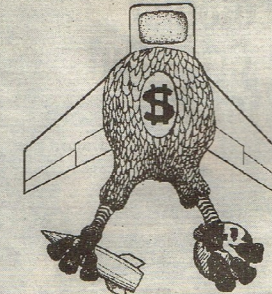
I've been busy lately, doing what I'm supposed to. And, I sure appreciate the careful treatment that I receive from the American news media.

My pals at the Pentagon put me in the category of a "Combined Effects Munition." My maker describes me as an "all-purpose, air-delivered, cluster weapons system." Not to brag or anything, but such labels don't do me justice. When I explode, the results can really be quite awesome.

I have gotten to do my stuff in Yugoslavia this month. One of my memorable performances came at around noon on a Friday. Some people in the city of Nis were shopping at a vegetable market when—boom!—I arrived. It was dramatic as hell.

A news article I found in the May 8 edition of the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that "the bombs struck next to the hospital complex and near the market, bringing death and destruction, peppering the streets of Serbia's third-largest city with shrapnel and littering the courtyards with yellow bomb casings."

This was one of my few moments in the U.S. media limelight, so forgive me while I quote some more: "In a street



leading from the market, dismembered bodies were strewn among carrots and other vegetables in pools of blood. A dead woman, her body covered with a sheet, was still clutching a shopping bag filled with carrots."

I know, it's immodest to flaunt my press notices. But people don't get to see those sorts of news accounts very much in America! If the stories are reported at all, they're usually buried (ha, ha) on back pages of newspapers and rarely even mentioned on the networks.

Once in a while, some Western journalist decides to put me down. The moralizing can be unpleasant. For instance, a BBC correspondent named John Simpson has been reporting from Belgrade, and he did a rather brusque commentary that the *Sunday Telegraph* in London published a

few days ago.

"In Novi Sad and Nis, and several other places across Serbia and Kosovo where there are no foreign journalists, heavier bombing has brought more accidents," Simpson carped. He complained that cluster bombs "explode in the air and hurl shards of shrapnel over a wide radius." And he went on to say: "Used against human beings, cluster bombs are some of the most savage weapons of modern warfare."

Cluster bombs like me could do without the overheated pejoratives, thank you. Fortunately, we hardly ever have to endure such indignities in the American press.

But please don't forget the very real accomplishments that I can partially claim as my own. The next time you see a headline or hear a newscaster referring to the "air campaign," remember that my achievements are outrageously understated by such jargon!

You see, I'm a 1,000-pound marvel, a cluster bomb with an ingenious design. When I go off, a couple of hundred "bomblets" shoot out in all directions, aided by little parachutes that look like inverted umbrellas. Those chutes slow down the descent of the bomblets and disperse them so they'll hit plenty of what my maker calls "soft targets." Before that happens, though, each bomblet breaks into about 300

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The Current Bombings

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"While the Reaganites broke new ground, under Clinton, the defiance of world order has become so extreme as to be of concern even to hawkish policy analysts"

F-15s at Aviano Air Base, Italy. photo/U.S. Defense (sic) Dept.



means of a particularly vicious form of biological warfare—"a very hard choice." Madeleine Albright commented on national TV in 1996 when asked for her reaction to the killing of half a million Iraqi children in five years, but "we think the price is worth it."

Current estimates remain about 5000 children killed a month, and the price is still "worth it." These and other examples might also be kept in mind when we read awed rhetoric about how the "moral compass" of the Clinton Ad-

To find examples illustrating (III) is all too easy, at least if we keep to official rhetoric. The major recent academic study of "humanitarian intervention," by Sean Murphy, reviews the record after the Kellogg-Briand pact of 1928 which outlawed war, and then since the UN Charter, which strengthened and articulated these provisions. In the first phase, he writes, the most prominent examples of "humanitarian intervention" were Japan's attack on Manchuria, Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, and Hitler's occupation of parts of Czechoslovakia.

Humanitarian Rhetoric

All were accompanied by highly uplifting humanitarian rhetoric, and factual justifications as well. Japan was going to establish an "earthly paradise" as it defended Manchurians from "Chinese bandits," with the support of a leading Chinese nationalist, a far more credible figure than anyone the US was able to conjure up during its attack on South Vietnam.

Mussolini was liberating thousands of slaves as he carried forth the Western "civilizing mission." Hitler announced Germany's intention to end ethnic tensions and violence, and "safeguard the national individuality of the German and Czech peoples," in an operation "filled with earnest desire to serve the true inter-

least if it were accompanied by refusal to play the cynical game of self-righteous posturing and wielding of the despised principles of international law as a highly selective weapon against shifting enemies. While the Reaganites broke new ground, under Clinton the defiance of world order has become so extreme as to be of concern even to hawkish policy analysts.

In the current issue of the leading establishment journal, *Foreign Affairs*, Samuel Huntington warns that Washington is treading a dangerous course. In the eyes of much of the world—probably most of the world, he suggests—the US is "becoming the rogue superpower," considered "the single greatest external threat to their societies."

Realist "international relations theory," he argues, predicts that coalitions may arise to counterbalance the rogue superpower. On pragmatic grounds, then, the stance should be reconsidered. Americans who prefer a different image of their society might call for a reconsideration on other than pragmatic grounds.

Protection From Predatory States

Where does that leave the question of what to do in Kosovo? It leaves it unanswered. The US has chosen a course of action which, as it explicitly recognizes, escalates atrocities and violence—"pre-

The Return of the Cold War?

As we finish this issue in mid-May, the NATO effort to bring Slobodan Milosevic to heel goes increasingly awry. The so-called Smart Bombs act stupider and stupider, here hitting the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, there slaughtering Albanian civilians in Kosovo—the very people the campaign is ostensibly to protect. In addition, the bombing has resurrected the prospect of new Cold War confrontations.

According to Dmitri Glinski Vassiliev, author of *Market Bolshevism: The Tragedy of Russia's Reforms*, "The bombing of Yugoslavia has endangered US-Russian relations in a way unprecedented since the early 1980s. Polls show that 92 percent of Russians condemn the bombings, and 70,000 young people have registered as would-be volunteers in Yugoslavia. US actions have given a big boost to militant anti-American politicians in Russia. They may win the December elections and unseat [the] moderate reformist government that has been trying to abstain from an open confrontation with NATO."

ests of the peoples dwelling in the area," in accordance with their will; the Slovakian President asked Hitler to declare Slovakia a protectorate.

It could be argued, rather plausibly, that further demolition of the rules of world order is irrelevant, just as it had lost its meaning by the late 1930s. The contempt of the world's leading power for the framework of world order has become so extreme that there is nothing left to discuss.

A review of the internal documentary record demonstrates that the stance traces back to the earliest days, even to the first memorandum of the newly-formed National Security Council in 1947. During the Kennedy years, the stance began to gain overt expression. The main innovation of the Reagan-Clinton years is that defiance of international law and the [UN] Charter has become entirely open.

It has also been backed with interesting explanations, which would be on the front pages, and prominent in the school and university curriculum, if truth and honesty were considered significant values. The highest authorities explained with brutal clarity that the World Court, the UN, and other agencies had become irrelevant because they no longer follow US orders, as they did in the early postwar years.

One might then adopt the official position. That would be an honest stand, at

dictably;" a course of action that also strikes yet another blow against the regime of international order, which does offer the weak at least some limited protection from predatory states.

As for the longer term, consequences are unpredictable. One plausible observation is that "every bomb that falls on Serbia and every ethnic killing in Kosovo suggests that it will scarcely be possible for Serbs and Albanians to live beside each other in some sort of peace" (*Financial Times*, March 27). Some of the longer-term possible outcomes are extremely ugly, as has not gone without notice.

As for the longer term, consequences are unpredictable. One plausible observation is that "every bomb that falls on Serbia and every ethnic killing in Kosovo suggests that it will scarcely be possible for Serbs and Albanians to live beside each other in some sort of peace" (*Financial Times*, March 27). Some of the longer-term possible outcomes are extremely ugly, as has not gone without notice.

A standard argument is that we had to do something: we could not simply stand by as atrocities continue. That is never true.

One choice, always, is to follow the Hippocratic principle: "First, do no harm." If you can think of no way to adhere to that elementary principle, then do nothing.

ministration is at last functioning properly, as the Kosovo example illustrates.

Threat of NATO Bombing

Just what does the example illustrate? The threat of NATO bombing, predictably, led to a sharp escalation of atrocities by the Serbian Army and paramilitaries, and to the departure of international observers, which, of course, had the same effect. Commanding General Wesley Clark declared that it was "entirely predictable" that Serbian terror and violence would intensify after the NATO bombing, exactly as happened.

The terror for the first time reached the capital city of Pristina, and there are credible reports of large-scale destruction of villages, assassinations, generation of an enormous refugee flow, perhaps an effort to expel a good part of the Albanian population—all an "entirely predictable" consequence of the threat and then the use of force, as General Clark rightly observes.

Kosovo is therefore another illustration of (I): try to escalate the violence, with exactly that expectation.

The articles on Kosovo were written in early April. The death rates from Serbian ethnic cleansing increase daily.

The articles have been edited for length; full text of the Chomsky and Cockburn pieces are available at www.wmag.org, a web site which contains many useful observations about the war in the Balkans.

David Bacon's piece is available at dbacon@1gc.apc.org.

pressure), ending the regular bombardment of North Vietnam. Kissinger-Nixon then decided to shift the planes to bombardment of Laos and Cambodia. The deaths are from "bombies," tiny anti-personnel weapons, far worse than landmines: they are designed specifically to kill and maim, and have no effect on trucks, buildings, etc.

The Plain was saturated with hundreds of millions of these criminal devices, which have a failure-to-explode rate of 20-30 percent according to the manufacturer, Honeywell. The numbers suggest either remarkably poor quality control or a rational policy of murdering civilians by delayed action. These were only a fraction of the technology deployed, including advanced missiles to penetrate caves where families sought shelter.

Murder Civilians By Delayed Action

Current annual casualties from "bombies" are estimated from hundreds a year to "an annual nationwide casualty rate of 20,000," more than half of them deaths, according to the veteran Asia reporter Barry Wain of the Wall Street Journal in its Asia edition. A conservative estimate, then, is that the crisis this year is approximately comparable to Kosovo, though deaths are far more highly concentrated among children—over half, according to analyses reported by the Mennonite Central Committee, which has been working there since 1977 to alleviate the continuing atrocities.

The relevance of this shocking example should be obvious without further comment. I will skip other examples of (I) and (II), which abound, and also much more serious contemporary atrocities, such as the huge slaughter of Iraqi civilians by



Previous to this era, opponents of capitalism, particularly marxists, but also anarchists, saw the internal contradictions inherent in the political economy as

the basis of the system's overthrow; the working class was to be the agency of revolution. Other marxist theorists postulated that resistance to imperialist domination and colonial oppression, or a revolutionary peas-

antry, could carry out this task.

Traditional Marxist opposition, disgraced by its apologies for police state socialism and leftist rackets, has thankfully departed the stage of history as a serious threat to the rule of capital. However, rather than this being the era of the market system's triumph, it may face defeat from another direction.

Conscious Revolutionary Project

Marx and his epigones saw in the development of the capitalist means of production the material basis for revolutionary transformation. Today, instead of the conscious revolutionary project of the proletariat unraveling things, what looks increasingly possible, is that the malfunctioning of the industrial/nuclear/petrochemical planetary work/consumption machine itself may wreck the whole show for workers and bosses alike.

Usually, this publication reports on what the industrial age and modern consumerist society has done to the air, land, and water, but as we approach the end of history's bloodiest century (thanks to the mechanization of warfare), a tiny glitch in the administrative machinery may accomplish what generations of rebels have failed to do—bring capitalist society to a halt.

There is extensive concern that an internal date malfunction brought about by the inability of computers to correctly perceive that we are about to enter the year 2000 and not a hundred years earlier could create great disruption. However, none of this is certain and the effects of what is known as the Y2K problem continue to be debated as

government, military and industry race to fix the millions of computers that govern their operation.

The worse case scenario coming from those dubbed Chicken Littles could actually result in the sky falling if there is a massive failure of the computer networks affecting energy, communications, finance, transportation, health, food, and the systems controlling nuclear power and weaponry.

Predictions for what will happen as the clock strikes the millennium (or more accurately as the numbers roll over to the year 2000) depend greatly on what one hopes will happen.

So, No Worry

Spokespeople for mainstream institutions blithely assure us that the experts have worked diligently to insure there will not be even the slightest inconvenience. Several airline CEOs announced they intend to be airborne at the stroke of twelve on New Year's Eve as a gesture of confidence.

My bank included a little note in a recent statement describing their state of Y2K compliance and the security of my paltry funds. A spokesperson for the local gas company told me they too were ready for the roll-over and they have auxiliary generators in place to continue an uninterrupted supply of gas for heat and cooking. Even my workplace says, we are 100 percent ready. So, no worry. They, of course, want everything to continue as before.

On the other hand, christian millenarians, right-wing militia-types, and (sorry to put these folks in the same sequence) those desiring a collapse of industrial, hierarchical, complex, state society anticipate anything from wide spread

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A Speed bump in the road?

Interview with Chris Clark, Editor *Earth Island Journal*

"We are always facing Armageddon"

by Peter Werbe

of revolutions per minute of a motor.

which killed, blinded and maimed thousands of people.

The following interview with Chris Clark, editor of the *Earth Island Journal*, publication of Earth Island Institute, was taped the week of January 18. I chose Clark to interview since he and his organization seem sensible in their theoretical and activist approach to defense of the environment. This may appear as an endorsement to some and a condemnation to others.

Earth Island Journal and the Institute can be reached at 300 Broadway, Suite 28, San Francisco CA 94133; 415-788-3666; www.earthisland.org; or email at journal@earthisland.org.

Peter Werbe: Is there a potential for disaster at the stroke of midnight 2000?

Chris Clark: It is definitely a possibility. There's a lot of publicity about Y2K that concentrates on home and office computers, or the ones in state and federal agencies. But there's a whole class of computers called imbedded chips or systems which are much more crucial to the way this society functions, and haven't been getting as much attention. They're in your coffee machine or your bread maker or your fuel injection or the thermostat on the valve in the oil refinery five miles upwind. Or, any number of industrial or commercial processes that depend on managing numbers whether they have to do with temperature or time or the number

PW: If we're talking about coffee makers, it means inconvenience; if we're talking about industrial facilities, it could mean disaster.

Clark: It's worthwhile to remember a couple of similar, but seemingly trivial problems that had horrendous results. One was potentially horrendous; the other purely horrendous. In 1980, the bank of computers at NORAD, the North American Air Defense, which is the organization that tells us if anyone is going to nuke us in the next 45 minutes, had one chip in one computer fail. That generated a phantom attack from the Soviet Union. It showed the Soviets had launched a massive nuclear missile attack over the North Pole.

I don't know who discovered that it was a chip failure and not a real attack, but whoever it was deserves to have the entire planet named after him. He saved the Northern Hemisphere from becoming a radioactive wasteland because the U.S. was just about to launch a retaliatory attack.

The other example is not a case of computer failure as far as I know, but is related to the issue. One valve in a chemical plant failed for 70 seconds, which is long enough for someone to notice something is wrong, jump out of their chair, grab a wrench and shut it. That valve failing at a Union Carbide plant in Bhopal, India in 1989 for one minute and ten seconds vented a deadly chemical

PW: Could something like that happen here because of the Year 2000 problem?

Clark: Yes. Even though most of the embedded microprocessors used in industrial facilities aren't date sensitive, if even a fraction of the ones that are give bad data, it could be catastrophic. Trains could be sent onto the wrong tracks, refineries could miss toxic leaks, supertanker navigational systems could fail causing collisions or spills, chemical factories and incinerators dealing with toxics are similarly vulnerable.

Basically, the environmental impact of the Year 2000 problem is a result of the way in which we've built our society as a whole to be very brittle. There's nothing special about the click over to the three zeros except maybe in a totemic sense; people notice it.

PW: Is the root of the problem just that the date will roll over and computers will see two zeros and get confused?

Clark: That is one of the many things the computer might think, accepting for a moment that computers actually think. Half a century ago people who were writing code for computers—computer programmers—were faced with serious limitations. There was no such thing as cheap floppy disks, cheap memory cards that you could stick in your computer for \$79 that would give you

Or Catastrophe?

Destroy Market Capitalism In Six Easy Steps

The Year 2000 For Revolutionaries

by Kyle Holbrook

The present society produces an ever-increasing series of disasters, from stock market crashes to mass starvation. Most of this chaos winds up hurting the most dispossessed while the capitalists laugh all the way to the bank. Knowing this, as a revolutionary and professional programmer, I want to outline why the Man will get hit worse than he is anticipating by the particular crisis known as the Year 2000 or Y2K problem.

The historical irony of this "small technical problem" is that it illustrates how the computer has more power American peoples' lives than any so-called democratic choices, such as voting. Because the production system's serious machinery must be programmed so as to very quickly heed the absolute orders of the world market, this process has more real power than all the screams of media shills or the ideologies cooked up by politicians.

•This matters

Modern bureaucracy organizes existence to make its citizens live like children dependent on systems they barely understand. Most people don't know where their water, electricity, gas or food come from. Most people don't understand credit systems, tax systems, or telephone systems

even though they depend on them. All these are managed by mega-capitalist interests closely tied to the government. As the products of vast bureaucracies, each of these systems is vulnerable to computer failure at the start of 2000.

•Secret life of programmers

Y2K starts from a situation that appears to be simple, yet it illustrates the irrationality of those running the present world. Programs are not written by bosses and the bosses don't usually know any details about programs. Programs are written by highly paid information professionals—computer programmers. While computer programmers' salaries may exceed four times the average, their condition of work is essentially that of other laborers—constant toil to maintain their existence.

The logic of the programmers' bosses, like all bosses, is to scrimp as much on programming labor as possible to fatten next month's profits.

In the larger world of work, bosses remove as much decision-making power as possible from workers and transfer it to their computers. They constantly attempt to reduce workers to low-paid, replaceable parts. Cashiers or bank-clerks become data inputs for computers. Bosses pretend that it is their bureaucratic orders

controlling the process of work.

Indeed, creating and imposing mindless orders is the job of all bureaucracies. A bureaucracy can never allow its orders to be influenced by the details of how they will be carried out. Computer programming should be viewed no differently than ditch digging. All bureaucratic importance is concentrated in the man who says "dig here" or "program this" and none in those who actually do the work.



Richard Mock

The de-skilled computer programmer uses random methods. Each time a computer receives an instruction, it is arrived at by the seat of the programmer's pants. This adds up to the world of today where more and more of life is controlled by absurd, irrational computer programs written in the quickest, most half-assed way possible—from failing satellites to wait-forever phone systems and check-out lines.

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64 megs of memory. Memory was expensive and very, very large; computer data storage was done on little paper cards. Any way you could cut corners as far as the amount of data that was stored, handled or processed would translate into saving lots of money over the course of a year.

One of the ways in which data was conserved is in the way we do when we write checks. Instead of writing 1/19/1999, they write 1/19/99. Eliminating the 19s saved lots of money and time. Nobody in these big computer owning and leasing companies expected this code would still be in use forty years later.

PW: You know the old expression, "If you're so smart, how come you're not rich,?" I always stand it on it's head and ask if they're so rich, how come they weren't smarter?

Clark: They were smart in terms of the next quarter earnings. There were engineers and programmers, my father among them, that were encouraging their bosses to take a look at the year 2000 problem as early as the late 1960s. They said, look, you're going to have problems with this; we can rewrite the code now so that we have four digit year fields for the date. Or, ignore the year all together using the number of days up to some point. There's a number of ways avoid the year 2000 problem if you have enough time. A lot of the code that's been written since the late '60s is Year 2000 compliant in that it will suffer no particular problem due to rollover—no greater problem than usual.

PW: Most of the big corporations say they're taking steps to combat these problems.

Clark: The good news is that the vast majority of these chips either won't have problems during Y2K because they're not date sensitive or will be fixed or replaced. The likelihood is that 99 percent of the embedded chips we use in our daily and industrial life and

global society will be either Y2K compliant or will fail benignly. The problem is that by the end of this year as a global society there will be 50 billion of these chips in various places throughout the world. So, even if a fraction of a tenth of a percent of these chips fail in a way that threatens human lives, that's a lot of failure we have to deal with.

PW: What about the safety of nuclear power plants?

Clark: The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is on record as saying they will shut down any noncompliant

merely a disruption of inconvenience?

Clark: My glib answer is that we are always facing Armageddon. I'm not a psychic or a computer programmer; I don't have top level security clearance to get in to take a look at the Defense Department's state of compliance. I pay attention to people who have been talking about the subject and gauge how likely they are to be right. And, that's difficult; it's an odd issue. There's any number of self-appointed experts making pronouncements from one end of the spectrum to the other, and it's a question of who do you trust. Peter de Jager, who broke

"There's a potential for disaster, but my sense is that society is not going to collapse."

nuclear power plant soon enough to have them at cold shutdown by the time the calendar clicks over. They may have to shut down a third of them which a good environmentalist like me is supposed to cheer, but the energy grid in the Northeast U.S. gets 40 percent of its electrical power from these facilities. Still, I would much rather face power outages than a possibility of a meltdown.

However, two things happen; one is that the plants aren't producing electricity, but the other is that they are consuming it because it takes power to keep a plant at cold shutdown. That would mean the Eastern electrical grid would be running at a deficit of power. It could be fine for a couple of weeks, but if a cold spell or snow storm hits, the demand for power goes up; the system is already running a deficit, so you could have a blackout two or three weeks after the rollover. It's not going to happen magically at the stroke of midnight on January 1.

PW: Is everything going to collapse? Are we facing Armageddon; something of catastrophic proportions or

the story a number of years ago to the computer world-at-large had a recent article in Scientific American talking about the likelihood of what's going to happen. His medium view is that 15 percent of U.S. households may suffer power disruptions; worst case is 75 percent.

There's a potential for disaster, but my sense is that society is not going to collapse. There may be widespread disruption and I would be surprised if no one in the world dies as a direct result of Y2K related problems. We have so many people in the world and such a complex society that it is almost inconceivable to me that no one will be tragically affected. In places like North America, however, the sum total of many people's Y2K experience may be reading about horrible things happening somewhere else in a paper that gets there a day late.

PW: What about response on the part of the population such as a run on banks for cash or panic buying of food or gasoline?

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Y2K For Revolutionaries

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•The Future of An Illusion

Computers are used for both crucial and unimportant tasks. Computers that control the key processes of capitalism are the ones where the important action will take place. From banks to oil rigs to nuclear missiles to supermarkets to factories to electric utilities, most large, complex systems today absolutely need computers to run their operations.

In the "get it done now" world of programming, being sure about the rules for dates was often thrown out with every other tricky or time-consuming activity. Like McDonald's, all that matters is giving the customer his lump of slop quickly enough. Thus, in a vast number of computer programs produced over the last thirty years, the logic around dates was created according to the rough idea the programmer had of how dates work. And these programs only had to work for the next week or year.

•The Illusion of A Future

Any small error is not a small problem for a computer's operations. Computers can't figure their way out of the simplest error if they haven't been programmed for it. Instead, they will stop completely or behave unpredictably. Programs often make some errors in their logic ("have bugs"). The complexity of programs makes bugs inevitable since computer programs are the most complex things ever constructed by humans.

As computer programs become the controlling factor in large enterprises, working around the "quirks" of a system becomes just part of everyone's job. Break-down bugs appear most often in computer systems when the system encounters a new situation—something that hasn't been tested for or thought of.

This is always happening somewhere—phone failures, electrical power failures, cash registers going out, etc. Indeed, nearly every large computer system is kept together today by a few "Mr. Scots" who've figured out how to make the anti-matter not collide with the matter (to use the analogy of Star Trek). These are the fire-

fighters who can take a system back from the brink.

However, Year 2000 errors are different. Unlike the constant stream of errors that systems shrug off today, the special property of time is that all of the year 2000 bugs will appear at nearly the same time. When the clock strikes twelve in every digital alley, the machines will dutifully turn over all their counters and their half-assed programming to decide what this means.

But the masters cheated on the few extra counters. So, every computer in the world will face a new situation at the same time. An uncountable number of bugs will appear in predictable and unpredictable places, overwhelming the fire-fighters who normally take care of them. Mediocre time of capitalism will have collided head-on with complex time of organic reality.

This adds up to a bug in the world-system. When enough complex systems are in the condition of not working, they start to interfere with all the other systems. Without transport, many machines break down. Without telephones, fixing broken machines gets harder. If electricity fails, many buildings are unusable. If buildings are unusable, the programs can't be fixed. If card-key security features fail, emergency personnel can't get into headquarters to fight the other problems. And many, many other things happen next.

•Chips Ahoy

It's important to realize that the year 2000 isn't just about computers. Many "embedded chips" have the same problems. Embedded chips are silicon chips which are used to control most complicated machinery today. These have programs written directly in the silicon that often rely on time and date. These programs have Y2K problems for the same reason that other programs have them, but cannot be examined.

These programs cannot be changed without pulling out the chip and putting in a new one. Generally, that means buying an entire new machine or using an unpredictable "work around" for the problem. Just determining which machines have

Y2K problems is as complex as finding them in computers.

From electrical power to water to food distribution to smelting plants, many large industrial enterprises have their pants down on this one. The center cannot hold; anarchy will reign.

•The possibilities

Today is not a period of "great prosperity," but a time when vast bubbles of speculation are manipulated by banks to maintain a fragile economy. This could best be seen in Fall 1997 when the world stock markets lost 25 percent of their value. The present management of capital already faces problems like the insurrection in Indonesia (the world's seventh largest nation in population).

Revolutionary moments, when the proletariat made serious attempts to create a

examples of this.

Y2K will produce such a moment of chaos, confusion and indecision for the capitalist class. Rather than proving that it has solved its problems, capital will show that it has combined its many problems into a single, unsolvable mess.

•What could happen

We cannot predict exactly how much of a disaster the year 2000 will be. We do predict disaster, in general, because we know a machine generally stops working when a single part is removed. And many, many parts will collapse on January 1, 2000. Electrical power, water, food, telephones, banks, the stock market, the oil industry, large factories, air traffic control, large corporate and governmental bureaucracies are the most likely and critical points we expect will shut down for

Mediocre time of capitalism will collide head-on with complex time of organic reality.

world beyond the present world of capital, have virtually all come in periods of considerable uncertainty and crisis. These might be crises of managing the state or in the economy. The Paris Commune, the Russian and Spanish Revolutions, May 1968 in France, the "Unknown Insurrection" in Iraq after the Gulf War, are all

various periods.

The highly probable outcome of this will be a nation-wide crisis on the order of each city being hit by an earthquake combined with 75 percent of the workforce being fired. The U.S. Federal Emergency Management Act (FEMA) and other dic-

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Clark: facing Armageddon

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Clark: I've been telling people that anything that doesn't seem like a good idea outside the context of Y2K isn't a good idea in the context of Y2K. I'm encouraging people over the next several months, not waiting until December 1, because that's when panic could set in, to set aside a couple of weeks to a month and a half of food.

PW: That's kind of a bomb shelter mentality. Aren't the problems brought about by Y2K the same ones that exist every day? The Bhopal disaster didn't happen at the year 2000.

Clark: The problem is not the date, it's the data. We have constructed a society so vulnerable to disruption that two little insignificant digits can potentially bring it down.

In the long term, people have to think about how our

lives depend on this very, very brittle system from power generation to our food supply to what we do for entertainment.

There are small ways we can cut our dependence on the big technically oriented system, from growing your own food to throwing solar panels up on your roof to generate power if you want to get off the grid. Things like this are good ideas even if Y2K is just a speed bump.

FE Note: This interview was originally aired on a radio show hosted by Peter Werbe on WRIF-FM in

Detroit. The program can be heard worldwide on the Internet, Sunday nights at 11:00 pm, Eastern time, by going to www.wrif.com and clicking Real Audio.

